Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-020 *31 January 1994*

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Assembly Passes National Security Council Act

AU2901183594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Instead of devoting their Friday session to parliamentary control, on 28 January the National Assembly members engaged in regular legislative activity.

The Consultative National Security Council, as envisioned in the Bulgarian Constitution, finally was fully adopted at a second reading. Its functions were finally clarified at the National Assembly session. This will not only be an auxiliary organ of the president; the council will adopt no obligatory stands or proposals addressed at other institutions.

The clarification of the council's functions again posed the old disputed issue of its composition. This issue was discussed amid growing tension until the end of the session. According to the Constitution, the president of the Republic is chairman of the council. The prime minister, the four ministers most directly involved in security issues, the chief of the General Staff, the National Assembly chairman, and one representative from each parliamentary faction also are members of the council. No changes in this permanent composition were adopted, despite the fact that there were many new proposals.

Aleksandrov Returns From Romania, Comments

AU2901180694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] A total agreement was reached on all issues that were discussed, Defense Minister Aleksandrov said upon his return from Romania, where he had talks with his counterpart, Nicolae Spiroiu.

Refraining by all means from interfering in the Yugoslav conflict and a total support of the Yugoembargo was the joint position of the two defense ministers. Regarding the war in former Yugoslavia, the opinion was expressed that diplomatic means to stop the war are far from being exhausted.

Perils of 'Unclear' Position on Bosnia Analyzed

AU3101114094 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26 Jan 94 p 6

[Plamen Kulinski commentary: "Policy of Noninterference"]

[Text] The disintegration of Yugoslavia, predetermined by its very creation, has tangled the Balkans in a knot that even the most skillful fingers cannot untie. However, there are many people willing to do this. They know what benefits they might reap. However, those who are most interested in the success of the experiment prefer to keep a low profile.

There is a real danger of the conflict spreading to other Balkan territories. The Americans comfortably deployed their units in Macedonia in an attempt to prevent this. However, they did not dare send their boys to Bosnia-Herzegovina. They do, however, have ideas about how to resolve the situation there—the airplanes will come and everything will be all right. The Islamic states also know precisely what they want—a new Muslim state in the heart of Europe that could become a new Mecca.

Against this background one fails to comprehend the passivity of some neighbors of the former Yugoslavia, who should have perhaps the clearest position on resolving the conflict. Those who engage in concocting futile plans should take into consideration the opinion of those neighbors, because it is their house that will be on the line if the situation eventually explodes.

Perhaps Sofia is the best example in this respect. Somehow its position remains unclear. Why? Perhaps because Sofia is concerned that its opinion might affect other countries involved in the Balkan crisis. Noninterference is a comfortable policy in such cases. While waiting for the storm to pass however, Sofia has lost millions of green banknotes. Nevertheless, in the long run this could be the least of our losses.

Ethnic Hungarians' Complaint to CE Denounced

AU2801144894 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 27 Jan 94 pp 1-2

[Commentary by Roman Kalisky: "Miklos Duray and Bela Bugar Keep Writing...."]

[Text] The TA SR has published as a document a letter from the Coexistence Movement and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] to the Council of Europe [CE], dated 19 January 1994, signed by the gentlemen named in the headline. The letter consists of five points, and its authors address the letter's addressees as "Esteemed Mr., Esteemed Mrs.," from which it is easy to infer that each gentleman and each lady of this respected institution will find his own copy on his or her desk. If only our respected Ministry of Foreign Affairs acted as promptly!

"Representatives of the Slovak Republic (who is meant by that?—R.K.) and the Slovak Parliament pledged to develop and implement their policy vis-a-vis minorities in accordance with CE Recommendation Number 1,201," the signatories of the letter state, and deplore that this has not happened.

Messrs. Duray and Bugar announce with "deep regret" that in December 1993 the Slovak Parliament "approved Resolution Number 309, thereby abolishing its Resolution Number 225 of June 1993, in which it pledged to proceed in its policy toward the minorities from the principles of CE Recommendation Number 1,201."

Thanks be to God that this happened because, as each citizen of the Slovak Republic who is at least a bit conversant with the matter knows, the notorious Recommendation Number 1,201 was only a working draft that has meanwhile been "withdrawn from circulation."

The letter from Coexistence and the MKDH rejects the National Council of the Slovak Republic law on the use of Christian names and surnames, which supposedly "orders the declension of female surnames according to the Slovak grammar," protests against the division of the "compact Hungarian community in southern Slovakia" according to the territorial and administrative setup now under preparation, demands that "Hungarian towns be given their historical names" (that is, names Magyarized by force in the years of the most brutal oppression of Slovaks—R.K.), and protests against the possibility of "alternative education" at schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction "at the order of a few parents" (!). On the other hand, the letter observes that "90 percent of Hungarians speak fluent Slovak," which raises the question why and through whose endeavor we come across the words "nem irtem" [Hungarian for "I do not understand"), spoken with a smile on the face, daily in shops and other institutions in southern Slovakia.

The authors of the letter refer to the Komarno protest of 8 January 1994, which, along with the five points raised, supposedly testifies to the unacceptability of Slovak Government policy "for the minorities (Messrs. Duray and Bugar suddenly speak in the name of all minorities?—R.K.), which consider this to be a restriction of their right to self-determination."

This single sentence reveals it all! The right to self-determination, which is a collective right, belongs to nations and not to ethnic minorities—that is, not even to the one, about which the writers of the letter to the CE are concerned. They, too, know this very well. Still, they keep writing.... Let them write. It seems that Europe, including its Council, has at long last begun to see who seeks coexistence and who is after confrontation and destabilization in Central Europe.

Commentary Warns Against Delaying Ethnic Issue

AU2701201594 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Jan 94 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "Wake After Teasing?; Hungarian-Slovak Dialogue Diverted Into a Blind Alley"]

[Text] Slovak-Hungarian relations have in recent days and weeks become the center of a media war, particularly with regard to the solution of minority issues. People with weaker nerves may have even perceived this as an exchange of fire. The live ammunition was supplied by both sides, which have been exploiting the insufficient solution of this undeniably controversial problem for political manipulation in their own favor.

This is the main reason why, in both Hungary and Slovakia, executive as well as legislative bodies deliberately do not bring the whole matter to the required end. Naturally, this then creates scope for artificial escalation of tension, the whipping up of emotions, and fishing in muddy waters, the result of which is the almost absolute absence of trust on both sides, but also between the state and the minorities living on its territory.

As far as Budapest is concerned, the present Hungarian Democratic Forum-led government coalition can scarcely be expected to change its course less than four months before the elections. The overt support that it provides to the political representatives of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, while at the same time vehemently rejecting even the slightest hint that the positions of the two sides are being coordinated, testifies to the opposite.

There would be nothing wrong with this if the positions of the two largest parties representing the Hungarian minority were clear and transparent. Their eternal shifts, the hardening and then again softening of their positions, depending evidently on the response they are getting from abroad, make it impossible for their negotiating partners to assume an unequivocal stand. It must be said, however, for the sake of objectivity, that this negotiating partner [the Slovak Government] has at

present no intention of holding talks because this allows him to arouse in society fears of a potential external threat to the integrity of the state and to declare himself the sole guarantor that the state will be saved—not to mention the fact that this attitude allows him to use the argument, also vis-a-vis the world, that it is because of this threat that Slovakia cannot meet all the commitments it has adopted or the deadline for their fulfillment.

Both sides use the minority issue as a hostage of their policies or politicking. They assume the posture of someone who has been wronged, a posture, however, that is meant only for a part of the gullible domestic audience. The world somehow does not swallow this bait. At the same time, it is evident that both Bratislava and Budapest are in for the same measure of criticism. Only we are trying to persuade ourselves that we are being wronged by everyone. If this actually happens, it is only because we are shooting ourselves in the foot.

It can be assumed that the two sides will hold on to their present policies at least until May, or until the formation of a new Hungarian government. Although such tests of the other side's nerves are not uncommon in politics, they do have their risks, which are not exactly small. A small incident, even a staged one, may be enough to set off a widespread conflagration. Fortunately, nothing of the sort has happened yet. Ordinary people apparently have more common sense than their governments.

I only hope that talks will not start only after the first electric transmission lines are blown up or after state symbols are attacked in some other way, as was the case, for example, in South Tyrol in the 1960's. The time factor, too, must be taken into consideration. Italy's nonobservance of the Paris Treaty demonstrated that delaying a solution may be a useless display of stubbornness. Ultimately, internal and external pressures led to dialogue and to the search for solutions acceptable to all interested parties, after all. At the same time, the case of South Tyrol cannot be considered a model that lends itself to automatic adoption.

No such model exists. What one can do, however, is learn a lesson about what not to do and what to do and how. Using the good services offered by the South Tyroleans would do no harm, either, to prevent teasing from being followed by wake [pun based on the similarity between the words "prekaracky" (teasing) and "karacky" (wake held for a dead person)] and, on top of that, exchanges of fire or acts of terrorism.

SDL Says Meciar Trying To Break Up Party

AU2801172194 Bratislava SME in Slovak 26 Jan 94 p 3

[Article by "(dos)": "Weiss: The Party of the Democratic Left Is Next, After the Slovak National Party,"]

[Text] Bratislava—I know that the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] is next, after the Slovak National Party [SNS], but the methods that were used to break up the SNS will not be successful with the SDL. This statement was made yesterday by SDL Chairman Peter Weiss. He described the claim made by Deputy Prime Minister S. Kozlik that P. Weiss and L. Pittner voted intentionally for the draft state budget as a deliberate political lie. "I know that the prime minister waited impatiently for the outcome of the SDL Executive Committee meeting and that he expected me to resign," said Weiss in this context. According to him, differences are beginning to crop up within the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] between those who want to continue democratically to fulfill the HZDS' preelection program and those who, despite their deputy's mandate, also have posts in the state administration and are interested in privatization. Weiss considers the visit to Slovakia by representatives from the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] to be part of the preelection campaign organized by the party, which is trying to ward off the threat of electoral defeat. Weiss announced that L. Fogas (SDL), the leader of the group of National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies in the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, has been elected one of its deputy chairmen.

KDH Head Sides With President Against Meciar

LD2701195794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 27 Jan 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The leading representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] gave a news conference in Bratislava today. After the news conference, Zuzana Stukovska asked KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] Your colleagues said at a news conference today that cooperation between the castle [the president] and the government is not functioning. [passage omitted]

[Carnogursky] As to President Kovac's visit to Poland, it is obvious that the government did not cooperate with the president as it should have. I think that Prime Minister Meciar's statement yesterday [26 January] that he had learned about the visit too late is not an excuse. The visit was agreed during the Visegrad summit in Prague. Economics Minister Ducky was present at the talks between President Kovac and President Walesa and therefore it was his duty to inform Prime Minister Meciar. Meciar cannot use the excuse that some of his ministers knew something but did not tell him. He is responsible for the whole government.

The visit must have been organized with the help of the Slovak Embassy in Warsaw, which is under the control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—part of the government. If, in spite of this information and the preparation, the government failed to prepare documents on the agreements that were expected by the Polish side, this casts doubt on Prime Minister Meciar's claim that Prime Minister Pawlak did not want any meeting between ministers this month. The agreements ought to have been ready, and, when the presidential office voiced the

wish that Minister Ducky should accompany the president, I think it was the duty of the government to organize his participation. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] If tension accumulates, there is danger of an explosion. What can be done? This is a question for you as a parliamentary deputy.

[Carnogursky] This latest affair with the president's visit to Poland is an obvious failure of the government; therefore, the deputies of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia should draw its' own conclusions. Sooner or later, the issue of a vote of no confidence in the government will come to the fore.

[Stukovska] Do you think that this could happen during the current session of parliament?

[Carnogursky] It is not likely.

[Stukovska] [passage omitted] What are the chances, in your opinion, that the bill on large-scale privatization, which has been discussed and criticized so much, will be passed?

[Carnogursky]] [passage omitted] The Slovak papers have been saying for a few days that, if the government bill on large-scale privatization is passed, this will mean that political and economic power will be concentrated in the hands of the government—that is to say, in the hands of one man, Prime Minister Meciar. Commentaries in these papers, which are not in the hands of the KDH, do not welcome the adoption of this law. We agree with them. [end recording]

Decision To Stop RFE Broadcasts Reversed

LD2801224294 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2130 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] The Slovak Telecommunications [company] has reversed its decision to terminate its contract with Radio Free Europe [RFE] on 31 January 1994. The company will take steps toward solving technical and legal issues concerning RFE broadcasts via transmitters in the Slovak Republic.

According to a memorandum of understanding signed by RFE Deputy Director Gary Thatcher and Vladmir Ondrovic, director of Slovak Communications, in Bratislava today, the RFE is open to further negotiations.

Hungary Offered Increase in Danube Water

AU2701201794 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "No Retreat From Positions"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—"By 2 May 1994, the Slovak Government will submit to the International Court of Justice in The Hague the 'Memorandum of the Slovak Republic on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Hydroelectric Power Project.' We expect the document to consist of 2,000-2,500 pages," Jan Lisuch, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told yesterday's meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Commission for Issues of the Danube Hydroelectric Projects.

The state secretary also briefed the NRSR commission on findings acquired thus far about the impact of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project on the level of underground water in Zitny Ostrov [Rye Island, area along the Danube in southern Slovakia], on water supply in the system of Danube branches, and on improving navigation on the Danube. [passage omitted]

At their meeting yesterday, members of the NRSR commission also discussed a reply to a letter from Andras Pap, chairman of the Hungarian Parliament's committee dealing with the hydroelectric project. The reply states that the solution to the problem of a sufficient amount of water in the Danube branches [on Hungarian territory] lies in the "mutually agreed construction of a dam at Dunakiliti. This would make it possible to supply the network of branches in the Szigetkoz area with up to 140 cubic meters of water per second." Academician Juraj Hrasko, chairman of the NRSR commission, stressed that the flow in the old river bed [of the Danube] could be increased after the completion of an automatic water diversion system at a newly built small hydroelectric power plant [at Dunakiliti]. This pledge [to increase flow in the old riverbed] would mean a reduction in the production of electricity in Gabcikovo by about 28 million kilowatthours annually, which would extend the period necessary for the investment costs to be recouped. "On no account will the Slovak side consider this temporary solution to be a retreat from positions during the discussion of the Slovak-Hungarian dispute before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The failure to implement solutions, the blueprints of which are ready and agreement on which had already been reached, runs counter to our common interest in the creation of optimal conditions for the ecological system of Danube wetland forests," the reply from the NRSR commission to Andras Pap's letter states.

Tanks Said To Form 99 Percent of Arms Exports

AU3101125294 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jan 94 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Tanks Dominate Military Technology Exports Despite Their Being Expensive and Outdated"]

[Text] Bratislava—In 1993, the only successful arms exports were from the production of ZTS [Heavy Machinery Works] TEES [expansion unknown] Martin, Milan Warecha, director of the firm Unimpex, which exports arms from Slovakia, said yesterday. Unimpex was founded by the Martimex company in 1990. As early as in 1993, Unimpex turnover reached 4.05 billion korunas [Sk]. Exports of T-72 tanks from the ZTS Martin production provided 99 percent of the total

turnover. The value of last year's exports is Sk3.3 billion. Warecha said that the territories to which the arms are exported have changed substantially. He emphasized, however, that the license committee has granted licenses for all sales realized. In comparison with 1992, when exports to Russia reached Sk400 million, the volume declined last year to Sk200 million.

Slovak exports of military technology face numerous problems on the world market. According to Warecha, Russia, which produces as many as 10,000 tanks annually, is great competition, as their prices hover around $500,000, while the Slovak tanks cost as much as $1 million, and the Slovak engineering facilities can produce only 250-300 tanks. Another handicap for the Slovak arms industry is its gradual antiquation. A total modernization would require tremendous financial means. The debts from the time of the federation still also work against the Slovak enterprises. On the other hand, the quality of the exported goods favors Slovak exports. Customers often prefer Slovak military hardware to Russian or Polish arms. The foundation of a new company with state participation mentioned by Prime Minister Meciar should serve, according to Warecha, the coordination of Slovak exports. Numerous contracts are signed at governmental level, and it will depend on the state how it will fend for the new company, he added.

Statistical Office Releases Economic Data

AU3101142194 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jan 94 p 1

["ip"-attributed report: "Moderate Growth of Prices; Lasting Decline of Production"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— The price growth slowed in the last three months of 1993, Rudolf Krc, chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office, told a news conference yesterday. Whereas in October prices rose 1.4 percent [compared with the preceding month], in November they rose 1 percent, and in December 0.6 percent. [passage omitted]

Goods worth 314.4 billion korunas [Sk] were produced in industry in the first 11 months of the year, 13.9 percent less than in the same period the year before. The volume of building work reached the value of Sk39 billion, which was 23.4 percent less than in the first 11 months of 1992.

The Slovak Statistical Office has also released some data for December 1993. In livestock production, the numbers of cattle, pigs, and poultry continued to decline. Milk production reached 1.2144 billion liters, 8.7 less than in December 1992, while the production of eggs declined more than 11 percent.

Average industrial monthly wages in enterprises with 25 and more employees reached Sk6,942 in November, which was Sk1,034 (17.5 percent) more than in the same month the year before. Average monthly wages in construction stood at Sk6,573, in transportation at Sk6,206, and in retailing at Sk5,126. A month-to-month comparison shows a slight increase in the productivity of labor. A total of 368,095 job applicants were registered with labor offices at the end of the year. The number of unemployed increased 0.4 percent in the course of December (to 14.4 percent). An annual comparison shows an increase in employment by 4 percent.

Boross Interviewed on Belgrade Ties, Economy

LD2901132494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Earlier today Prime Minister Peter Boross evaluated the first month of his tenure in a radio interview. He described relations between the Visegrad countries as an expedient cooperation framework. He stressed that the question of whether or not it is a political or an economic bloc should not be overemphasized. What he considers to be more important is that cooperation has begun between these countries under a free trade agreement. Andras Takacs sums up further details of the interview.

[Takacs] Prime Minister Peter Boross evaluated the past four years as being successful. He said that the government did not first and foremost concentrate on the elections, but worked according to a certain program. Asked about the foreign policy situation, the prime minister said:

[Begin Boross recording] Recent international measures, restrictions, and other moves taken against little Yugoslavia have not changed the situation; they have failed to sort out the serious problem. A genuine government, a legitimate government—I refer to the latest elections—is working in Belgrade. It is natural that we have to be in contact with this government and have to establish a possible beneficial neighborly system of relations with it. [end recording]

[Takacs] [passage omitted] Speaking about the economy, the prime minister described opinions—according to which the country is in an even worse state than four years ago—as lacking in seriousness. Our country's foreign currency reserves total $7 billion compared to $800 million four years ago. [passage omitted]

Boross Wants Germans To Play Greater Role

AU2801143394 Hamburg BILD in German 28 Jan 93 p 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Peter Boross by Josef Ferenczy; place and date not given: "The Germans Are To Play a Greater Role in Europe"]

[Text] [Ferenczy] What can the Germans do to deepen the growing together of Europe?

[Boross] One of the most important events during the breakdown of the world system that called itself communist was the establishment of German unity. It also resulted in the greater international political importance and responsibility of the FRG.

This responsibility is particularly important today since a bloody war is raging in our region and extremist views are rousing excessive passions.

In our opinion, the economic power, the political weight, and the geographical situation commit Germany to assuming an even more active and courageous role in the interest of European stability in Central Europe.

The competition between two world powers confronting each other was terminated by the dissolution of the Soviet Union. However, this leads to a reconsideration of the world's security structure.

It is above all NATO's task to create it. When we stress that European integration is the priority of Hungary's foreign policy, we also understand by it our accession to NATO as our basic objective.

[Ferenczy] Are you concerned about the development in Russia?

[Boross] It is, of course, vital for Hungary and the whole of the international community that the democratic changes in Russia cannot be reversed. The newly adopted constitution guarantees this.

We hope that it will be possible to finally solve the political discussions provoked by extremists within the framework of laws, by peaceful negotiations, and in the course of mutual compromises by the development of the institutional system of the new, democratic rule-of-law state. In this way, the danger of chaos and civil wars, which, in addition to its unpredictable political consequences, would reduce the chances for accession to Europe, would be averted.

The advance of individual extremist forces in the elections is not disastrous, but only a signal, which, however, has to be taken seriously.

[Ferenczy] Why are politics failing in the Yugoslavia conflict?

[Boross] The south Slav conflict may involve the following dangers for Europe:

—The aggressive war of conquest is again becoming an accepted means for the solution of political, ideological, and religious differences.

—In the public Western media a mental iron curtain may develop, that is to say, the view that Eastern Central Europe is to solve its accumulated problems itself because the West does not intend to import a bankrupt's estate, could prevail.

—The most serious practical consequence is the influx of people who have been expelled from their homeland or are on the run to neighboring and developed Western countries—up to the point of a mass movement. As a result of this phenomenon, extremist and fascist views and groups might gain ground, which is a challenge that has to be taken seriously by the rule-of-law states.

Election Chances of Major, Minor Parties

94P20298A Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jan p 8

[Article by Agnes Bokor based on data of the Szonda-Ipsos polling agency: "Which Small Party Can Get 200,000 Votes? Six Small Parties in the Shadow of Six Big Ones"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] We can put the parties in the following five groups on the basis of the party list election results that can be expected at this time: [passage omitted]

1. Those parties that can rightfully count on at least 10 percent of the vote, that is, those that will certainly be parliamentary parties in the next cycle. These are presently FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party], and the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats]. (The MDF, in whose case it is not possible to exclude even a 4- to 10-percent vote result, is a borderline case.)

2. The other two parliamentary parties, the FKgP [Independent Smallholders Party] and the KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party] can only hope to get less than 10 percent of the vote, but it is very probable that they will get above the 5-percent threshold. (The FKgP is a borderline case because in an unusual situation, it might get squeezed out of parliament.)

3. It is possible that not a single party aside from the six above will meet the requirements for getting in. On the basis of Szonda-Ipsos's 1993 data, however, we can say that the Agrarian Federation, the Republic Party, the Workers Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Entrepreneurs Party, and the Green Alternative can have some hope of success as they try to expand their voter base to the necessary degree. (The Green Alternative is on the borderline between groups three and four, mainly because, as we will see, those who sympathize with it show little intention of taking part [in the election].)

4. There are parties, including the United Smallholders Party, the Hungarian Interest Party, the MIEP [Hungarian Justice and Life Party], the Hungarian Market Party, and the NDSZ [National Democratic Federation], whose existence public opinion is aware of but whose support is so low according to the research data (fewer than 1 percent of the potential voters) that only in the most extraordinary situation would they be able to get 5 percent of the vote. (Of these parties, MIEP is the one whose sympathizers, it can be assumed, are most likely to remain hidden in the course of public opinion research; therefore, perhaps this party can also be considered a member of the previous group.)

5. Finally, there are parties whose existence is in effect not recognized by the voting public, although they are registered parties and even have some members at their disposal. People do not mention them in any form, not even occasionally, in the course of public opinion research. [passage omitted]

ΩNew MDF Parliamentary Leader Kulin's Views

94P20286A

[Editorial Report] The new parliamentary group leader of the right-of-center governing party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), has signaled his party's willingness to join a coalition with the opposition Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), a liberal party that currently has few seats in parliament but has a chance, according to recent polls, of winning the spring elections. He also indicated that the media misrepresent the new prime minister when they portray him as an uncompromising representative of the political right.

While Ferenc Kulin, in a 13 January interview in the Budapest weekly BESZELO, refused to speculate about postelection coalition possibilities, he stressed that the MDF would like to be able to cooperate with the liberal parties against the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), a successor of the former ruling communist Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP). Desire for such cooperation is a legacy, Kulin indicated, of recently deceased Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who "considered it the most important result of the system change, which must not be given up and must not be lost, that the country can exclude the successor of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party when choosing its leading politicians and governing parties." FIDESZ, however, is the only liberal party that seems suitable for cooperation with the MDF, according to Kulin. The long-standing conflict between the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and the MDF, he indicated, has in fact gotten worse now that "the SZDSZ creates the impression that it is ready to work together with the MSZP. In effect, this simplifies our problem, because our two adversaries are merging into one. Having said this, I have also answered the question of whether I see a difference between the two liberal parties [FIDESZ and SZDSZ]. Of course I see a difference, and the difference I see is that Fidesz is not preparing to cooperate with the successor of the MSZMP. In our system of values, this is a basic difference," Kulin said.

Kulin also commented about his relationship with Prime Minister Boross, asserting that there are no unbridgeable differences between his own "national liberal" stance and Boross's more conservative views. Charging that the media misrepresent Boross, Kulin said that the Boross who is portrayed by the press as standing on the right and even "extreme right," and who is "allegedly... on close terms with Istvan Csurka"—Hungary's leading right-wing extremist, who broke with the MDF last year—is "not the Peter Boross that I know." In Boross's "whole mentality there are many elements that differ from the things that I represent. However, it never occurred to me for one minute that Peter Boross, the man who thinks and acts with political responsibility, would present me with the kinds of dilemmas that Istvan Csurka presented me with.... I do not feel any tension between him and me that we would not be able to clarify and resolve through a direct dialogue or an exchange of views within our party."

Olechowski Reviews Foreign Policy Concerns

PM3101120994 Krakow CZAS KRAKOWSKI in Polish 22-23 Jan 94 p 8

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski by correspondent Andrzej Urbanski, "assisted" by Malgorzata Bochenek and Anna Machcewicz; place and date not given]

[Text] [Urbanski] Minister, what was the formal legislative situation concerning Poland's security, which you found on assuming office?

[Olechowski] Poland has signed friendship and good-neighbor relations treaties with all its neighbors except Lithuania. Therefore, if real life were seen in terms of treaty-signing, we would have good guarantees of continued national security.

[Urbanski] So can we feel secure?

[Olechowski] We believe, to quote a priceless formula used once by the president, that it is not guarantees that are a fact but that hard facts constitute guarantees. At present, cooperation within the framework of a broader community remains the only form of ensuring that we have both national security and development. Polish people would like to be members of a community of Western states—hence our endeavors to be accepted into organizations that bind West European states together: the European Union [EU] and NATO. We will be associated with the EU as soon as February of this year.

That association will give us a definitive status; also, on the one hand, it sets the timetable for our entry into other European institutions, and, on the other, it creates premises for the belief that we will in the future become members of the EU. However, it must be stated that we still have no detailed timetable for the stages of our entry into Union membership.

As regards NATO, following the Brussels summit we know that it is not a closed organization. One of the criteria of acceptance of new members will be the latters' active participation in the Partnership for Peace program, but it will not be the only criterion with which we will have to comply. Unfortunately, no definitive conditions which will determine our membership have been set as yet, although we had asked for them to be set.

To recapitulate, we are already, as it were, in the vestibule of the EU, whereas as regards NATO, the door leading to the vestibule has already been opened.

[Urbanski] The process of our rapprochement with West European organizations began in 1989 with the great "fall of the peoples," but its first formal effects are beginning to appear only today.

[Olechowski] We Poles are naturally impatient. In addition, we have a "demanding" attitude to the world, which stems from our sense of having been instrumental in spreading peace in Europe; it is enough to mention Solidarity, Lech Walesa, and so on.

Nevertheless, we must remember that we want to join an existing community which has forged a mutually satisfying coexistence as a result of a series of difficult compromises. In addition, we must remember the problem of the actual organizational and decision-related capabilities: It is not without significance whether there are a dozen or twenty countries in any given community.

Finally, the people of the countries belonging to the European Community must first approve our accession to the Community: They must become accustomed to the idea of cooperation with us and the possibility of the need to defend our borders. When we view all these things in the light of the need for mutual integration, four years do not appear to be too long at all. It took much longer for Spain to be accepted into NATO and the EEC.

[Urbanski] How should we demonstrate our active involvement in Partnership for Peace?

[Olechowski] The role played by a partner state is fairly well defined in that program. A partner is a state which has adopted NATO's values and principles concerning the behavior of a member in matters of military and foreign policies and which is ready to take an active part in all operations designed to uphold or restore peace and in emergency rescue actions in Europe. Participation in such operations will require the assignment, training, and equipment of military units so that they are compatible with NATO requirements. At the same time, that will constitute a test designed to show whether the given country is capable—in military terms—of NATO membership.

The carrying out of such adjustment operations will require financial outlays. Some countries, including Poland, will strive for integration with NATO. On the other hand, those countries which decide to choose a different model of political development or else decide not to cooperate militarily with NATO, can still be passive members of Partnership for Peace or they can opt for taking no part in the program.

[Urbanski] How much truth is there in the assertion that it was pressure exerted by Poland that was responsible for Partnership for Peace assuming its final shape?

[Olechowski] We do not know that for sure because some of the talks were held behind closed doors. We are convinced that other participants beside us spoke about those points in which the final version of Partnership for Peace differs from the original draft. Nevertheless, it was certainly we who raised the level of the public debate as high as it was as we articulated clearly what we were striving for.

Those negotiations, in any case, should have been held out in the open, because they touch on issues that are of

principal importance for the state. Therefore it would be most important for politicians to get to know the public's opinions and reactions.

Of course, such a manner of conducting negotiations involves its own price. It is a method similar to the manner of our negotiations concerning debt reduction, which we also held out in the open. The point of departure for those was a targeted 80-percent reduction; in the end, we obtained 50 percent, and that was a great success. Even so, some people still considered it a failure. This time also a part of the population might regard the outcome of our negotiations over Partnership for Peace as a failure.

We consider the absence of a precise timetable of events designed to bring us closer to NATO a highly disappointing and frustrating circumstance. However, we should view it from a more general perspective of transformations in the global politics and from the viewpoint of the other side, which has no precisely defined vision. That is why it is difficult for us to obtain such concrete details.

[Urbanski] What allies do we have in our attempts to secure these details?

[Olechowski] All the countries of the Visegrad group which have identical chances of entering NATO. The Baltic states, on the other hand, are less well prepared for such a move, and for them the absence of such a prospect is at present a more advantageous solution.

We have allies in Germany, and I also sense that there is a compatibility with our interests on the part of the United States. We have heard a most categorical assurance that the security of the United States as well as European NATO members depends directly on our own security. Anyone who views the issue of security in global terms will also think about Poland's security, whereas those who think of it as a regional concern will tend to forget about us.

[Urbanski] In recent weeks we witnessed a diplomatic offensive on the part of our biggest Eastern neighbor, who opposed the idea of a speedy expansion of NATO membership. Should we fear Russia?

[Olechowski] We need not fear Russia in the immediate future, because it has no designs on us. On the other hand, we should be afraid of the failure and collapse of democracy in Russia. Fortunately, the results of the recent election show that the enemies of democracy there are in the minority—albeit a vocal minority. A democratic, strong, and prosperous Russia would be an ideal dream neighbor for us.

[Urbanski] In addition to strong criticism of our concept of European security, statements made by Russian politicians nowadays contain two additional, highly menacing elements: an attempt to invoke the right of veto against NATO's decisions, and assertions that Poland still lies within the Russian sphere of influence.

[Olechowski] These signals suggest that many people in Russia still think in terms of the historical past. However, there is a certain attenuating circumstance. Russia is simply too big ever to become a rank-and-file element of any system. If I were the Russian foreign minister, I would also set out to oppose any final decisions concerning a new security system until a definitive vision of Russia's place and role in the world is formulated—a vision that will successfully match both Russia's power and its needs.

On the other hand, we are deeply concerned about the fact that Russian politicians have been trying to dictate their neighbors' moves and behavior. That is inadmissible.

[Urbanski] A new opinion was recently voiced in the American press: that Partnership for Peace also represents a chance for Ukraine....

[Olechowski] The inclusion of Ukraine in the program is a most important question from our viewpoint. I would not even imagine a situation in which Partnership for Peace could embrace only East European countries. In such an event the "frontier line" would be moved to our Eastern border, and that is not at all in our interest. We would than become a "frontier state."

[Urbanski] Have our political forces in Poland reached a consensus on the question of how to ensure security for our state?

[Olechowski] It is enough to scan the news announcements carried by newspapers of all political orientations. It seems to me that there is total agreement as to the principal direction of our foreign policy. Many prominent and influential politicians representing individual groups support our current line in foreign policy. It is true that in that respect I am a particularly lucky minister.

[Urbanski] Over the past months I noted several opinions by our politicians at home in which they set out proposals for foreign regional cooperation—for example, linking Bonn with Warsaw and Moscow. What do you think of such proposals?

[Olechowski] We could carry out a brief analysis of these alternative concepts. One of them claims that we should declare neutrality. However, we would be too weak on our own to be able to repulse a possible threat to our security. Nor could we really consider disarmament, either, because all too quickly someone would take a lively interest in claiming our piece of "unguarded property." It would only be possible to set up regional cooperation with our neighbors in the south; however, these countries are militarily just as weak. Again, it would not be feasible to to set up regional cooperation based on one of our Western neighbors—for example, Germany—because in order to do that we would have had to make an earlier active effort to break up NATO, and that would be an act of patent insanity. Such an

action would be to the detriment of European as well as world interests, and it would directly contravene the idea of integration.

Consequently, what remains is the Eastern option, that is, building a community of states around Russia. However, as things are today, we would have to beg Russia on our knees to consider such an idea, because we are not a serious partner for it either in terms of political or economic interest. As far as Russia is concerned, a serious economic partner would be one that could offer it financial credits; in a certain sense, then, such a position could be bought. Therefore, if we were to secure enough money to finance such a scheme, we could strengthen our position quite considerably. An additional argument against that option is that Russia is not as yet a democratic state.

Each of the above solutions would be unattractive from the perspective of our civilizational development. Poles have always shown a marked leaning toward the West: our culture, our civilization, and our religion all have their roots there.

[Urbanski] Do you agree with the thesis that Poland has chosen the Westward path also in order to bring its economic relations with Russia to a higher level?

[Olechowski] I do. I believe that we should act as a coorganizer of economic cooperation between Europe and Russia. If Poland approaches the Western level of economic development while Russia, Ukraine, and other countries to the east of our borders remain at the stage of having no market economy owing to the lack of support from the outside and the world's reluctance to make room for them in the global markets, then the increasing difference in our potentials could create great tensions that might eventually threaten an explosion.

Polish economic interests oblige us to take an active part in the process of building a democratic and wealthy Russia. The eastern markets are a natural opening for us. Many Polish cities grew and developed through trading with Russia. We should strive even today to ensure that Polish suppliers have the optimum chances of reaching Russian markets, so that in the future we can set up well-functioning channels of economic cooperation.

[Urbanski] Where can we find the funds to finance such a scheme?

[Olechowski] All programs stipulating development of commercial exchange with Russia should receive favorable bank loans. We have been pressing for this for a number of years, but somehow the finance minister's hand would always tremble before he made the decision to sign such an agreement. However, I will keep insisting that it is a mistake not do do that. We should protect ourselves against the possibility of dropping out of the Russian market, and we must act with a view to establishing the best possible contacts there.

[Urbanski] Do you expect that the government will reach a consensus in this matter?

[Olechowski] We must explain the ins and outs of the whole issue carefully in order to preclude the possibility of misconceptions. For the time being we are preparing ourselves calmly and carefully to present the integrated picture of the premises of our policy as regards our Eastern neighbors. We want to breathe a new spirit into our relations with them, but for the time being we must wait until the present state of tension eases a little. There is no doubt that my recent statements did not quite match the declarations made by Mr. Kozyrev and other Russian politicians.

[Urbanski] What dreams do you cherish as foreign minister?

[Olechowski] I hope that during 1994 or 1995 we will see a clearly mapped-out route to NATO. However, I would not like to see Poland become a NATO member as a result of an emergency because of a destabilization of the situation in Russia. It is a dream of mine that by the year 2000 we are, alongside Russia, democratic partners within NATO. [Interview ends]

[Box, p 8]

The interview with Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski that is published above will serve as point of departure for the first program of a new television series to be broadcast on Polish Television's Second Channel, entitled "Questions About Poland." Other popular political and economic figures will appear in the program alongside Andrzej Olechowski. The program will be broadcast 22 January at 2010 [local time] on Channel Two.

In two weeks' time "Questions About Poland" will carry an interview given to Polish Television's Channel Two by Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy.

Olechowski Back From U.S.; Views 'Partnership'

LD2901180994 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Andrzej Olechowski has returned from the United States, where he held talks with representatives of the U.S. Government on the Partnership for Peace program, among other things. According to the minister, the results of the talks will bring Poland closer to participation in the implementation of the program.

[Begin Olechowski recording] The primary objective of the Partnership for Peace concept is to create a Europe without borders and dividing lines. If, however, dividing lines were to exist, it is understood—and this view is shared—that Poland would find itself on the NATO side of the divide. Because the United States firmly emphasizes that its security depends on our security, it is in the

interest of both sides, Poland and the United States—and NATO—that Poland should become an active partner in the Partnership for Peace. [end recording]

Deputy Finance Minister Dismissed

LD2801164694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1215 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Jan—The government press office has announced that the chairman of the Council of Ministers today dismissed Stefan Kawalec, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Finance, from his post.

Pawlak Comments on Dismissal

LD2901154494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1425 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Jan—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, speaking at a news conference held today after a meeting of the founding group of the Countryside Development Forum [Forum na Rzecz Polskiej Wsi], said he had met earlier today with the dismissed deputy finance minister, Stefan Kawalec, to whom he handed his dismissal notice.

"The meeting was held in a very calm atmosphere; we talked about the reasons for his dismissal," the prime minister added. The prime minister did not give specific reasons, but he said that the privatization of the Silesian Bank was not the direct reason for Kawalec's sacking.

Pawlak explained that during a conversation with him on Friday, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Marek Borowski reiterated that he expected a reply in writing to his questions concerning the reason for Kawalec's dismissal. The prime minister pointed out that the letter had not yet reached Borowski, and for that reason he did not want to reveal any details contained in the letter.

When asked if Kawalec's sacking could weaken the Polish Peasant Party-Democratic Left Alliance coalition, and if there already was a candidate for the vacant post to replace the recalled minister, Pawlak explained that there is not yet an agreement concerning the candidate. With regard to the coalition, the prime minister said he does not think that Kawalec's dismissal could cause any problems.

Kawalec, Borowski Comment

LD2901232694 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has presented Stefan Kawalec the document dismissing him from the post of deputy minister of finance. The reason, according to the prime minister, was the work of the deputy minister in its entirety, and in particular the methods of privatization of the banks and reform of the insurance system. These clarifications did not satisfy Marek Borowski, deputy prime minister and minister of finance, who did not grant his consent to the dismissal of his deputy minister.

[Unidentified correspondent] The government press office reported the dismissal of Stefan Kawalec yesterday. Marek Borowski, the direct superior of the deputy minister, expressed surprise and requested a clarification of the reasons for this decision. This morning, Waldemar Pawlak invited deputy minister Kawalec for a meeting.

[Begin recording] [Kawalec] The prime minister handed me my dismissal. He informed me that Minister Borowski had not consented to this dismissal, which is why the prime minister took the decision independently. The prime minister told me that the cause is an evaluation of my work in the Ministry of Finance, inter alia the concepts for privatization of banks and insurance societies.

[Correspondent] Did this reply satisfy you?

[Borowski] No, of course it does not satisfy me, since no analysis of the work of Deputy Minister Kawalec was actually carried out. For matters to be clear, I here neither defend him nor attack him. I myself addressed the Supreme Chamber of Control with a request for an inspection. I feel that it was not appropriate to make such a decision before the results of an inspection.

[Correspondent] Marek Borowski requested the prime minister to give a wider justification for this decision in writing by Tuesday. Waldemar Pawlak said that the document is already ready.

[Pawlak] I quite simply do not wish to reveal the details before it is received by Deputy Prime Minister Borowski. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the prime minister's view, the dismissal of Deputy Minister Kawalec will not be the cause of any sort of troubles within the government coalition.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Have you in this situation considered the possibility of resigning, and if so in what circumstances?

[Borowski] Well, unfortunately, this question I must leave without comment, and without reply at this moment.

[Correspondent] But is it appropriate to expect such a reply, and if so when?

[Borowski] As I said, I am waiting until Tuesday, for the prime minister's reply .

[Correspondent] Stefan Kawalec, dismissed today, had held his post for four years. He was one of the closest colleagues of Leszek Balcerowicz. Among other things, he undertook the negotiation of the reduction of our foreign debt and the introduction of the convertibility of the zloty. He was also responsible for the reform of the

banking system. Most recently, he supervised the privatization of the Bank Slaski. [end recording]

Handling of Dismissal 'Peculiar'

WS3101112194 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29-30 Jan 94 p 2

[Untitled commentary by Bozena Wawrzewska under the "Commentaries" rubric]

[Text] Yesterday, the government displayed some peculiar behavior which was watched by all of society.

The prime minister dismissed Deputy Finance Minister Kawalec, about which Mr. Kawalec learned from the radio. The superior of the dismissed minister—Marek Borowski, finance minister and deputy prime minister—whose motion would be needed to bring about a dismissal like this, addressed a question to the prime minister on the reasons behind the dismissal. In reply, PAP received a communique issued by the Government's Press Office to the effect that Deputy Finance Minister Kawalec's dismissal is not linked to the privatization of Bank Slaski, whereas the real reasons were not given either to the press or to Deputy Prime Minister Borowski. All the prime minister's press secretary had to say is that there he has no comment on the issue.

Politics require the courage to tell the truth directly, even when it is about decisions which were hard to make. The prime minister has asked the press to report honestly, but what he is doing now is condemning journalists for speculating and expressing views on what could be described as a weird style of governing, to put it mildly.

So, faced with deficiencies in the government's information policies and with a lack of explanations which the public expects, one is entitled to draw different kinds of conclusions on, for instance, possible frictions within the coalition, a battle between the Polish Peasant Party and the Democratic Left Alliance, mutual disloyalties among different cabinet members who talk to one another through journalists, who—as they often stress—they distrust, or about facing coalition partners with accomplished facts, which is not the first time this has happened.

'Someone Above Him' Targeted

WS3101123994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29-30 Jan 94 p 2

[Untitled commentary by Krzysztof Bien under the "Commentaries" rubric]

[Text] The dismissal of Deputy Finance Minister Stefan Kawalec, who was responsible within the Finance Ministry for ownership transformations in the banking and insurance sector, may be directly associated with the ill-fated evaluation of the assets of Bank Slaski. But all signs indicate that the move was only a pretext which the prime minister decided to use after a series of incompetent and demagogic statements by politicians who were not just attacking (out of ignorance or out of hostility) this specific case of privatization and the stock market, but who also tried at the same time to bring into question the legacy of the economic transformations of the last four years. There are signs that we have indeed the case of a pretext here: There was just one sentence contained in a communique issued by the Government's Press Office—namely that Kawalec's dismissal "is not directly linked with Bank Slaski's privatization."

It seems that a fundamental goal of dismissing Deputy Finance Minister Kawalec—which was accomplished behind the back of his direct supervisor, that is to say Marek Borowski, deputy prime minister and finance minister—was to weaken the Finance Ministry's leadership which—contrary to earlier predictions—proved resistant to political pressures aiming at basic revisions to the economic policy. A draft of a savings-oriented budget for this year prepared by a team headed by Deputy Prime Minister Borowski was not applauded, even by people outside the Democratic Left Alliance. Those who were most disappointed were Sejm deputies for the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], who had demanded significant increases in agricultural expenditures. But the Finance Ministry is not willing to compromise as far as their policies go, so faced with that, the PSL members in the coalition decided to use instruments of political pressure—Deputy Minister Kawalec has so far been the only victim of the scheme, but all signs indicate that the goal was to eliminate someone above him.

The dismissal of Deputy Minister Kawalec—who was one of the last remaining associates of Leszek Balcerowicz in government now—most probably will not cause a major crisis inside the governing coalition. But the manner in which it was accomplished—that is to say, ignoring tradition-based procedures—is proof of PSL's strong determination to disintegrate the framework of a modern market economy which has already been established, and that is happening in the name of selfish interests by just one social group. Disadvantageous changes which are happening in the economy—rising inflation, compensatory prices, and a slowdown in privatization, among others—are proof that the disintegration is already taking place. The process can now be speeded up.

ΩSLD's Jozef Oleksy on Role of Left

94P20220A

[Editorial Report] In a recent interview, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy, a prominent member of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), stressed that his party and the coalition government would not sacrifice economic growth by defending wage-earners too zealously. Oleksy, in the 26 December Poznan weekly WPROST, denied that the new Sejm has "Santa Claus" tendencies, asserting that the Sejm deputies have a "strong sense of realism" and that the Polish Left realizes it must play "a different role" from what left-wing parties play "in

countries with a stabilized market economy." He maintained that the Polish Left knows it must "work out, together with the world of capital, a mutual concept of action that will lead to economic growth." He argued that it is a mistake to assume links between political parties and particular interest groups, noting that "the Polish political scene is just beginning to be formed" and that the links between parties and interest groups "are not completely established."

Assessing the possibility of losing popular support, Oleksy acknowledged that the governing coalition of the SLD and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) faces a dilemma in formulating its economic policies: It cannot count on the patience of the voters, who elected it primarily because of their "anger" over the policies of the former government. What makes the coalition's predicament particularly difficult, Oleksy said, is that the people, while voting for a change in policy, "are unable to state precisely what their expectations are." Without a clear signal from the voters, Oleksy averred, the SLD will have to strike a balance between its campaign promises and "the rigors of economic realism." He observed that the local elections in June would be a barometer of the government's popular support, with a "clear" loss indicating that "hope in the coalition government is ebbing" and a victory strengthening the government's position.

Zhirinovskiy: Attack on Serbs Would Mean War

AU3101115994 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Bijeljina, Bosnia, Jan 31 (AFP)—Russian ultra-nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy arrived on Monday in Bijeljina, northeastern Bosnia, for talks with leaders of the self-declared Bosnian Serb republic.

Some 2,000 to 3,000 people, many in uniform, were waiting to greet the rightwing Liberal Democratic Party leader, who is making a tour of parts of former Yugoslavia, including Serb-controlled regions of Croatia and Bosnia, an AFP correspondent said.

He was officially welcomed by the self-proclaimed president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia, Radovan Karadzic, Biljana Plavsic, from the collegial presidency and Aleksa Buha, a member of the government. Karadzic introduced Zhirinovskiy to a Russian volunteer fighting on the Tuzla front in northeast Bosnia. "The Russians have already arrived. They are coming on their own, it is a sign of Russia's goodwill," Zhirinovskiy said.

Zhirinovskiy was later scheduled to visit Vukovar in the self-proclaimed Serbian republic of Krajina in Croatia to meet the newly-elected self-styled president Milan Martic.

Zhirinovskiy warned on arrival in Belgrade on Sunday that airstrikes against the Serbs would be considered an attack by the west on Russia itself.

Attacks by NATO warplanes or UN troops on Serb positions anywhere in Bosnia or other areas of the former Yugoslavia "would be tantamount to a declaration of war on Russia," he said. "It's better that Europe not learn what retaliatory measurs we could take," he told a press conference.

He also called for UN troops to be pulled out of Bosnia-Herzegovina and "let the Serbs settle the matter themselves."

Zhirinovskiy arrived here from Serbia after traveling through Hungary following a stormy tour of Slovenia, during which he was invited to leave by the government for causing a public disturbance and suggesting the independent republic should be reincorporated into rump Yugoslavia.

Thousands Wait To Hear Speech

LD3101121394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Bijeljina, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, arrived in Bijeljina shortly before 1100. Outside the municipal assembly building he was welcomed by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, and by Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic.

Greetings were exchanged during a cordial meeting and on this occasion Zhirinovskiy told Karadzic that wherever he goes he finds "proofs and monuments indicating that the Serb nation is a historic nation."

The host and his guest then went to the municipal assembly building where talks are to be held. More than 10,000 people have been waiting at the city square in Bijeljina since early this morning to hear Zhirinovskiy and Karadzic speak.

Srpska Army Mobilizes 'All Available Forces'

LD3101114194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0814 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The Supreme Command of the Srpska republic army says in a statement sent to TANJUG last night that "given the fact that the international community has decided to support the Muslims in the war and recognize the results of their struggle, the Supreme Command of the Srpska republic army (VRS) has passed a number of decisions and measures within its scope aiming at the mobilization of all available forces in the Srpska republic for the purpose of bringing about a successful end to the war. This means that the results of the struggle should be recognized: not only those of the Muslim side, but also those of all the sides in the conflict.

"The Supreme Command adopted a decision about strict legal measures against deserters and all other persons avoiding military service, especially those who do not report to their local commands or army units at the earliest opportunity.

"The economy of the Srpska republic will be placed entirely at the disposal of the republic's defense.

"The entire able-bodied population will be mobilized into war or work units, and special women's units will be set up with the aim of bringing about a successful end to the war.

"All forms of illegal trade and black marketeering, especially with the enemy, will be severely punished.

"Disciplinary measures have been intensified within the VRS and in the internal affairs' organs [police], as well as against all those involved in the defense, security, and protection of the constitutional order. [sentence as received]

"All state organs must function in accordance with their constitutional and legal role, bringing all forms of criminal, moral, disciplinary, and other proceedings in line with conditions of an immediate risk of war.

"The Supreme Command has undertaken all measures ensuring and guaranteeing full security for citizens and their property.

"New measures have been taken within the organization of the VRS in line with the defense needs of all of the

Srpska republic territory, ensuring flexibility, efficiency, and the better equiping of the army's units.

"The Supreme Command also adopted other decisions to ensure that the fundamental right and the sacred duty of citizens will be implemented: to defend the sovereignty, territory, and constitutional order of the Srpska republic.

"The new measures of the VRS Supreme Command will secure victory over the enemy and preserve all of the gains of the Serbian people's struggle to date, based on the principles of sovereignty, democracy, and freedom of the people in the Srpska republic," the statement concludes.

Mutual Recognition With FRY Proposed

AU2801204894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] We have just received the announcement issued from the session of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina held today and chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency.

The Presidency examined and adopted the report by President Alija Izetbegovic on his visit to Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei. Examining the situation regarding peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Presidency supported the initiative for holding a Security Council session that would discuss the situation in our country. If such a session does take place, the Presidency assumes that the Security Council will reaffirm all its resolutions on Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted so far as well as the London Conference decisions.

Mutual recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro is being proposed, considering this to be a way to make a new contribution to solving the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The report by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the talks at Sarajevo airport was also adopted at today's session.

Discussing the situation in the Bosnian Krajina, the Presidency decided to consider the initiative of a large number of former supporters of Fikret Abdic and to adopt an ordinance with legal power about an amnesty. According to this ordinance, no criminal prosecution will be instigated against members of Fikret Abdic's paramilitary formations, as well as members of parastate organs of the so-called Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, who report to the legal organs of power of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina by 10 February.

Regarding the crime in Zenica on which occasion a UNHCR member, a British citizen, was killed, the Presidency expresses its condolences and the resolution to have the people who committed this crime found and punished.

Consent was given for the ambassadors of the Kingdom of Sweden, the Republic of Austria, and the Republic of Albania to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Presidency adopted the decision on the election and release of a number of people holding posts in the judiciary.

General WArns Against Pulling Out UN Troops

AU3001140494 Paris AFP in English 0237 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Article by Victoria Stegic]

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 30 (AFP)—Bosnian General Jovan Divjak has warned that any withdrawal of United Nations peacekeepers from the former Yugoslavia would spark a tinderbox in the Balkans in the face of rampant Serbian nationalism.

In an interview with AFP, Divjak, one of two deputy chiefs-of-staff in the Bosnian Army, deplored the "lack of determination" shown by the United States and the "irresponsibility" of the European Community, whose negotiator Lord Owen has been trying to broker a three-way carve-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

With the present balance of forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, any UN withdrawal would "only put a match to the powderkeg the Balkans have become," he said.

Divjak said the Bosnian Army was "poorly armed, starved of logistical back-up, but well motivated," and would carry out the political objectives it had been assigned.

"Despite protestations of peace, the three parties continue to clash on the ground, because the Serbs and the Croats have not yet completed the boundaries of their quasi-states, while the Bosnian government is seeking to recapture the territory taken from it by force."

He said the Bosnian Croat HVO [Croatian Defense Council] forces were trying to forge a corridor in central Bosnia linking the towns of Prozor, Gornji Vakuf and Travnik with Vitez and Busovaca. Some 14,000 soldiers from Croatia with around 40 tanks, helicopters and aircraft had reinforced the HVO troops, Divjak said. But he vowed that the "Bosnian Croats and Croatia will be the biggest losers in this war."

A former officer in the defunct Yugoslav army, Divjak, himself of Serb origin, predicted that "without a strong multi-national Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia cannot survive." Serbia's expansionist appetite was not limited to Bosnia, he said, pointing out that Serbs already controlled a quarter of Croatian territory. The Bosnian Serbs were fielding 80,000 men, 25,000 of whom had come from Serbia, he said.

Backed by at least 500 tanks, they were trying to establish a corridor running from northwest to southeast along the Krivaja valley, which was why they were

currently attacking the Moslem-held town of Olovo, on the Krivaja River some 30 kilometres (18 miles) northeast of Sarajevo.

"The Serbs are not interested in Olovo itself," Divjak said. "What they want is to advance up the valley towards Vozuca and Maglaj (which are held by the Bosnian Army) to link up with (Serb-held) Doboj." That way they would drive a wedge between the second and third Bosnian Army corps, he said.

Sarajevo itself was in a bad way, he admitted. "Not one single weapon has got into Sarajevo since November 1992," he said. It was now more than a year and a half since the Bosnian forces had managed to destroy any of the 80 Serb tanks training their guns on the city.

More firepower was aimed at Sarajevo than had been deployed to pound Berlin into surrender at the end of World War Two, he said, with some 1,500 artillery pieces ranged against the city. By contrast, Sarajevo had not more than 20 artillery pieces, no mortars, no ammunition, few weapons and only a few home-made handgrenades with which to defend itself. "We are putting the emphasis on diversionary tactics," he said.

He said airstrikes against Serb positions would help ease the situation. "It would be enough, by way of reprisals, to bomb their mechanised units and tanks, their ammunition dumps, and to knock out the 20 or so bridges across the Drina River between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina." One thing was certain, he said. "The war will not end tomorrow."

Karadzic, General Rose Satisfied With Meeting

LD3001162694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—I expressed my gratitude to President Karadzic for his help and cooperation in ensuring unhindered deliveries of humanitarian aid by land corridors passing across this territory, British general Michael Rose, the newly appointed UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, said after his meeting today with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic.

"The talks were very interesting and comprehensive and referred to the situation on the ground, the humanitarian situation and the mandate of the UN peace mission in this connection."

Expressing satisfaction about today's meeting with Rose at the start of the latter's mission in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said the aim of the meeting was for the two sides to get to know each other and explain their basic points of view.

"My impression is that regardless of where they come from, high-ranking officers are the ones least prejudiced. Such was the case with all former UNPROFOR commanders and so it is with General Rose, who is willing to examine the situation as a whole and take an unbiased stand which the United Nations personifies. We have always been satisfied with the UN high commands and have never had any objections to their work," the Srpska republic president said.

"General Rose expressed satisfaction about the safe passage of convoys across the Serb territory and about the reduced volume of military operations in the Sarajevo zone. We accepted the suggestion that such a trend should be continued, especially at the time of the Olympics and we also accepted a cease-fire during this period and will not carry out any military operations unless we are threatened.

"We will try to ensure an increase in humanitarian aid deliveries through our corridors, as our aim is to lessen the suffering of civilians as much as possible. My impression is that our first meeting took place in a very positive atmosphere and I hope that our cooperation will be excellent," Karadzic concluded.

General Rose said: "We agreed on the need to make an effort to normalize the situation in Sarajevo and to halt military actions in the Sarajevo area. I think it is in the interest of all of us that the situation is normalized, given the unfortunate experiences of the people living here."

He confirmed that the process of replacing UNPROFOR members in Srebrenica was discussed, and expressed conviction that the rotation would be completed without any problems.

President Karadzic mentioned that he and Rose also discussed possible dangers which could arise from deliberately staged incidents, especially within the context of the provocations announced by Muslim forces in connection with NATO planes in northeast Bosnia, particularly in Tuzla and Srebrenica.

"We agreed that in such a situation we should have each individual case examined by mixed expert groups, because such tricks on the part of the Muslim side are very likely. We will try to prevent this, but if it happens we will insist on a thorough investigation and will be willing to take part in the work of the mixed expert commissions," Karadzic said.

"The protection of humanitarian aid routes is within the mandate of the peace forces and we are aware of the difficulties and traps which can present themselves, but we will conduct an investigation in every case and I therefore stress the importance of the deliveries of humanitarian aid across these areas," General Rose said.

UNPROFOR's Rose Meets With Mladic

LD3001182894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1720 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—General Michael Rose, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic, commander of the army of the Srpska republic, had talks in Pale this afternoon.

After the meeting General Rose told journalists he was pleased with the meeting today. "The talks were interesting and related to an exchange of views on issues of interest to both sides," he said.

Speaking about the specific content of the talks today, General Mladic said: "General Rose presented vague claims in connection with some issues but they were clarified by the Serb side."

"I explained the same to General Briquemont. The rotation of UNPROFOR troops in Srebrenica falls within the competence of lower-ranking UNPROFOR commanders and it should not be blown up out of proportion, because that is precisely what Muslims and all those who are sponsoring them want in creating a smokescreen for the world public in order to conceal the Croat-Muslim war," Mladic said.

"As regards Tuzla airport, this is a concocted problem serving the same purpose, but the smokescreen is much thicker and bigger. There is no reason why we should haggle over this issue, as all the convoys can enter both Srebrenica and Tuzla as they please," Mladic said.

"However, Muslims have got bad advisers and think that we are naive and will easily swallow their bait. I informed General Rose about the fact that the Muslims and Croats declared war on the Serb people. Let them take it back; it will be easy to find a speedy agreement on everything, including Tuzla. There are also airports on Serb territory. Serbs cannot even receive vaccines for babies while the Muslims can even seek to control all international airports. We will talk about this with the warring sides," Mladic said.

"We have never had any conflicts with UNPROFOR commanders, nor with any generals, because it was not the United Nations that declared war on us, but Tudjman and Izetbegovic," the Serb commander concluded.

Silajdzic on Latest Round of Talks With Serbs

LD2901212794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Bilateral talks between a Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation and the Serb side were held today. Upon his return from the airport, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, who led our delegation, stated the following about the content and results of today's talks. Here is a report by Senada Cumurovic:

[Begin recording] [Cumurovic] Head of the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] for former Yugoslavia Andre Collomb also attended the talks today. What was the reason?

[Silajdzic] Collomb was there to point at the serious situation and express deep concern felt by the Red Cross due to the deterioration of the situation. Their concern is justified. We, of course, accepted that as it was. On the other hand, he [words indistinct] to initiate the process of POW exchanges. In brief, we agreed that what was possible to do in the humanitarian sphere should be done, what is impossible to do now should be left for later. [words indistinct] We shall try to speed up work on that as every day is important for these people. This is as regards Mr. Collomb's participation.

After that we had bilateral talks. Of course, as regards the humanitarian situation, we first had talks on convoys in general, and then on a particular convoy which has been waiting in Zenica for a long time to pass through to Maglaj. If you can recall those two parallel convoys from Croatia which [Croatian Foreign Minister] Granic and myself agreed for Nova Bila and Maglaj. A part of the convoy is still waiting in Zenica to pass through; today we learned that the Serb side would not make problems for the passage of the convoy through the Serb-held territory. Of course, we have to obtain consent of the Croat side. We need not stress the importance of it. I think that the situation in Maglaj and Tesanj is dramatic. In addition to convoys, we shall try to parachute the aid there.

[Cumurovic] The impression of our delegation members who took part in the talks is that the political negotiations were held in a more favorable atmosphere. Why do that feel that way?

[Silajdzic] Simply because there was readiness to view all options equally. Certain specific agreements have been reached, and when concrete agreements are present the situation is always easier and it is possible to discuss everything in a different way.

I will say it straight away. It was agreed to form a joint commission to go to Gorazde in order to spread the atmosphere concerning measures for building confidence; in Gorazde, Foca, and Cajnice. [We discussed] especially the supplies of water and electricity, therefore, the repair of power lines and, of course, the most difficult topic is always the exchange of prisoners (?on that side).

The second topic which we seriously discussed are the possibilities of improving the communications between Sarajevo and other areas via Visoko or Hadzici. We held talks in principle, but they were held in an atmosphere which could lead to an agreement on improving communications links, on leaving and entering Sarajevo, the return to (?northern and) southern parts of the republic. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Serb Assembly Head Comments

LD2901234594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—I have to say that after all there is a certain degree of optimism, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic, said this evening after five hours of talks with Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Muslim government in Sarajevo.

Krajisnik headed a Srpska republic delegation at the talks with the Muslim side at Sarajevo Airport. He specified that the two sides had discussed the exchange and release of prisoners and the situation following the arrest of Serb medical personnel in the Muslim part of Sarajevo.

"There were certain political topics on the agenda too," Krajisnik added. He said that both sides agreed to exchange 85 prisoners each, and that the Serbs again pointed to the problem of prisons in Gorazde [in eastern Bosnia] and Tarcin [southwest of Sarajevo].

The talks were also attended by a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], so it was agreed that, with the mediation and participation of that humanitarian organization, a mixed Serb-Muslim delegation should visit the prison in Gorazde, while, according to Krajisnik, "there are mutual problems" concerning Tarcin.

He explained that the families of the Serbs held in Tarcin prevent humanitarian aid convoys from reaching the territories under Muslim control, making their passage conditional on the release of the prisoners from Tarcin. It was agreed that a Srpska republic representative should go to Tarcin with ICRC officials and, if possible, arrange an exchange of prisoners, Krajisnik said.

He added that the ICRC got involved in the case of the Serb doctors held in the Central Prison in Sarajevo, but that the Muslim side had started making their release conditional on "reciprocal measures."

"If there are Muslim doctors on our territory who would like to cross to their territory, we are ready to resolve this matter immediately," Krajisnik said. He reiterated that the arrest of the Serb doctors was an extremely unreasonable act, adding that he was hoping the problem would be resolved soon.

Revealing more details on political topics discussed at the meeting today, the speaker of the People's Assembly of the Srpska republic mentioned an idea presented by Silajdzic that in this phase hostilities should cease, or maybe even complete peace be restored, separation lines between warring sides be drawn up along the present front lines, and the civilian population be allowed to move freely between Visoko and Sarajevo, Sarajevo and Tarcin, and also along roads leading from Sarajevo to the Serb-controlled territories.

"I have the impression that the Muslim side wants a cease-fire, which is encouraging, especially if they adhere to these standpoints following additional consultations," Krajisnik stated. According to him, this would not only be an act of restoring trust, but would also create a climate in which political negotiations on all contentious issues would continue in an atmosphere of peace, not under war conditions.

Krajisnik also expressed reservations in this connection, stressing that he had clearly told the Muslim side that what might be lurking behind this proposal was the aim of buying time to obtain certain military advantages such as further armament, and mopping up the front facing the Croat side. "We shall accept an invitation for peace, preferably for a permanent peace, but I clearly told Silajdzic we had doubts about the peace-making intentions of a part of the Muslim leadership, which is trying to resolve the situation through the war," Krajisnik said.

The Srpska republic assembly speaker stressed that he had drawn the Muslim side's attention to the fact that the Serbs were ready to accept any military challenge, and that they could not be swindled and cheated. In conclusion Krajisnik said that an agreement was reached for the two delegations to meet once again before 10 February, about which they would be in phone contact as phone lines between the two sides are restored. He explained that all this is aimed at overcoming distrust through direct contacts, "so that the atmosphere ahead of the forthcoming round of Geneva negotiations is as favorable as possible."

Herceg-Bosna Denies Presence of Croatian Army

LD2901235394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] The political department of the Defense Ministry of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna has issued a statement in response to a letter to UN Security Council Chairman Karel Kovanda by Muslim Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, in which he accused the Republic of Croatia of allegedly sending its regular units to take part in military actions in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Silajdzic's letter is completely unfounded, and it is yet another attempt to turn the attention of the international public away from the true problem, which is the Muslim army's continued aggression against the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Muslims' persistence in continuing the war. This is the gist of the statement.

We declare that there are no regular units of the Croatian Army in the territory of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and that the political leadership of Herceg-Bosna has never asked the Croatian Army and leaders to send Croatian Army units to Herceg-Bosna.

It is true that the authorities of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna have sent a call-up to all able-bodied citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Croat nationality—including members of the Croatian Army born in Bosnia-Herzegovina who volunteered for the Croatian Army at the beginning of the aggression against Croatia—to join HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units in the defense of their people and their historic areas. Before joining HVO units, all volunteers from the Croatian Army born in Bosnia-Herzegovina were demobilized from the Croatian Army; that is, they left its ranks. The truth is only that HVO units are much better manned due to a good turnout of citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Croat nationality who stayed in Croatia, the statement says.

Croatian Army Units Gather Near Gornji Vakuf

LD3001152094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Seven brigades of the Croatian Army, assisted by paramilitary formations of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], are continuing their fierce attacks in the direction of Gornji Vakuf and the river Lasva valley, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's press center has announced.

Fighters from Sibenik, Osijek, Vukovar, Vinkovci, Varazdin, and Zagreb are amassing around Gornji Vakuf with constant artillery support. Zagreb's assurances that these are not Croatian Army units, but volunteers from Bosnia were already heard at the beginning of the Serb aggression against the internationally recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Hunger Claims 'Dozens' in Free Doboj Territory

AU2801154194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Report by Mirudin Aldobasic]

[Text] Tesanj—There have been more victims of exhaustion and hunger on the free Teslic territories. This time it is the case of two older people, whom even the doctors unfortunately could not help. They died from starvation. Let me remind you: The last convoy with humanitarian aid that reached this region was exactly seven months ago. Starvation and exhaustion have also claimed dozens of lives on the free Doboj territories. Almost 20,000 elderly, women, and children are facing death.

The situation is particularly hard in Matuzici, Ularice, Alibegovci, Mravici, [word indistinct], Mala Brijesnica and Velika Brijesnica, Kokotnica, and other places on the free territory. Over the last seven months, only two kilograms of flour per household have been distributed here.

There is a real humanitarian catastrophe on the Maglaj territory, too. Tesanj, with 20,000 refugees from Doboj and Teslic, has also been for a long time been without food, electricity, fuel, and warm clothes.

Banka Luka ICRC Resumes Aid Deliveries

LD3001132094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Text] Banja Luka, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Humanitarian aid convoys organized by the Banja Luka delegation of the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross], which have been suspended since 17 January this year, will start running again today, a TANJUG correspondent has learned.

A convoy for the local population will arrive in [Serb-held] Banja Luka today, as well as another one destined for [Muslim-held] Zenica. Both have been inspected at the border crossing [between Croatia and Bosnia] in [former Bosanska] Gradiska on the river Sava.

As has been reported, the Banja Luka delegation of the ICRC temporarily suspended aid deliveries following the incident when an explosive device was planted under an ICRC vehicle [in Banja Luka] on 17 January this year.

ICRC Officials Visit Serb Doctors in Sarajevo

LD2901204094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1907 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—Officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on January 23 visited five Serb doctors and three nurses held by the Moslems in Sarajevo for allegedly attempting to flee a Moslem quarter of the city.

The ICRC said in a letter to the Health Ministry of the Bosnian Serb Republic on Saturday that the arrested medical workers were allowed to contact their families through the ICRC.

Health Minister Dragan Kalinic on Saturday sent a letter to the coordinator for medical evacuations of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees threatening to suspend cooperation in response to this inhumane and criminal act. The health authorities of the Bosnian Serb republic will suspend all medical evacuations until the arrested doctors and nurses have been uncondtionally released and allowed to freely enter Serb territory, said Kalinic.

Speaker of the Bosnian Serb Parliament Momcilo Krajisnik and Bosnian Moslem Premier Haris Silajdzic met at Sarajevo Airport on Sunday [as received] afternoon for talks on rebuilding confidence among the warring sides and releasing the Serb doctors and nurses from the central Moslem prison in Sarajevo.

Until they were arrested, the doctors and nurses worked in Moslem-controlled hospitals in Sarajevo.

'Christmas' Cease-Fire Extended to 28 Feb

LD3101104194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0951 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Knin, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—Representatives of the republic of Srpska army [VRS] and the Croatian Army yesterday signed another agreement—with the mediation of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]—on the extension of the so-called Christmas cease-fire. The extended cease-fire agreement comes into effect at 0000 this evening. The warring sides signed their first cease-fire agreement—the Christmas cease-fire—on 17 December last year and on 13 January extended it until midnight on 31 January. The extended truce will be in effect until 28 February this year. The VRS General Staff said that both sides were prepared to resume negotiations on a general cease-fire.

Granic Rejects Charges of Intervention in Bosnia

LD3001191594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian vice premier and minister of foreign affairs, today sent a letter to UN Security Council Chairman Karel Kovanda rejecting accusations by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic about Croatia's alleged intervention in the war against Bosnia-Herzegovina. The letter stresses that it would be illogical and inadequate for the Republic of Croatia, which is proposing and advocating a peace solution, to undertake a military offensive in the most critical phase of the peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, let alone to engage in open military intervention. Minister Granic recalls that the Croat areas in central Bosnia, and around Zepce in particular, have been exposed to constant, relentless attacks by the Muslim army which did not even observe a tripartite Christmas truce.

He also recalls that UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] reports did not confirm Bosnian government accusations of military intervention by the Croatian Army and that the UNPROFOR report said there was no proof of a significant deployment of the Croatian Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Taking these objective facts into consideration, Prime Minister Silajdzic's accusations ought to be treated as unfounded, Minister Granic said.

According to him, the form, sharpness, and timing of Silajdzic's obviously unfounded accusations against my government make me believe that the Muslim side is neither ready nor willing to accept peace negotiations in good faith at the moment.

In his letter to the Security Council chairman, Minister Granic reiterated his invitation to Silajdzic to return to the negotiating table, even before the new round of the Geneva negotiations to be held on 10 February, and to get involved in fresh efforts in order to find a tenable political solution based on already accepted principles and solutions for an alliance of the three equal constituent nations.

In conclusion, the minister recalls that Croatian President Dr Franjo Tudjman has twice so far asked for complete international supervision of all borders of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He has also on several occasions asked for the complete demilitarization of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This has been and will be the policy of my government, Granic's letter says.

Army Official Denies Involvement

LD2901200594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] A recent statement by Bosnian Defense Minister Hamdija Hadzihasanovic on the alleged military intervention of the Croatian Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina was the cause of an extraordinary news conference by the Croatian Defense Ministry. Brigadier Drago Krpina, head of the ministry's political department, spoke at the conference. Zoltan Kabok reports:

[Kabok] The claims by Bosnian Minister Hadzihasanovic that as many as 15 brigades of the Croatian Army with 30,000 soldiers were fighting on the soil of their neighbors are a blatant lie—according to Brigadier Krpina—aimed at putting international pressure on Croatia.

[Begin Krpina recording] The justification of the failure of the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia and of some defeats of the Muslim army in the vicinity of Prozor—as I have already said—is an attempt to bring about the lifting of the arms embargo imposed on the Muslim army. [end recording]

[Kabok] Speaking about the genesis of Croatian-Muslim relations Krpina said that from the very beginning the leadership of Croatia advocated a single Bosnian state. Croatia, Krpina went on, was the first country to establish diplomatic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina after the international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to our information, Krpina said, 2,000 volunteers of Bosnian origin are currently fighting in the neighboring country [Bosnia-Herzegovina]. Over 5,000 mercenaries from Islamic states—who are encouraging fanaticism and fundamentalism—are currently fighting on the side of the Muslim army, Brigadier Drago Krpina said at the end of the news conference, also denying all allegations by the Bosnian defense minister about any involvement of Croatian Armed Forces in clashes in the neighboring state.

Martic: Geneva Agreement Nothing 'Significant'

AU2801210694 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] The elections in the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] are over. A new multiparty Krajina parliament is supposed to meet in 10 days. Milan Martic, newly elected RSK president, held his first news conference today at which, among economic measures and moves,

he also announced the introduction of the super dinar, because he assessed that a unified monetary policy in the FRY, the republic of Srpska, and the RSK is the first step toward the creation of a joint state:

[Correspondent Petko Koprivica] Newly elected RSK President Milan Martic held his first news conference in Knin today when he, among other things, repeated that he will remain resolute in his intention to realize six key points of his electoral program, which are defense, legal order, the reanimation and promotion of the economy, the strengthening of diplomatic activities, and the unification of the Serbian lands into one state:

[Martic] "I continue to be a common man with a new burden on my back and with a desire that the program that I have drawn up succeeds, because if the program succeeds the people have also succeeded. I think that the program can and must succeed, as nobody has the right to oppose what constitutes the interest and the will of this people."

[Koprivica] Let us listen how the RSK President commented on the beginning of the establishment of relations between Belgrade and Zagreb, that is to say, how he sees the borders of his country in the light of the Geneva negotiations:

[Martic] "People can interpret this agreement in Geneva the way they like. However, it does not significantly change anything. Not even the signature that Tudjman and President Milosevic have placed on it brings anything significant. What it means is only the establishment of peace. However, this under no circumstances means that Krajina has been returned to Croatia, as the Croatian politicians have presented this. I am not surprised that Tudjman is constantly repeating that, by this, Croatia has in a way been acknowledged within its borders. This is absolutely not true. The only thing that was signed was signature for peace, to seek political solutions in peace.

"In any case, we all strive that this actually be the case. However, we do not renounce anything, and nobody is contemplating returning the RSK to Croatia. We will negotiate with Croatia on an equal footing, we will be proportionally represented in all talks and will negotiate in peace how to live further as two neighboring countries, but in no way together."

[Koprivica] The RSK President also told journalists that he would favor that capable and entrepreneurial people, who will be able to work successfully for the benefit of the Serbian nation, regardless of their party membership, enter the future government of this most western Serbian land. Namely, Martic concluded, nobody, never, under no circumstances can and will get a mandate to place his personal interests above the national goals of the Serbian nation.

Granic Offers Condolences to Italian Officials

LD2901220394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian vice prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, has sent a letter to Italian Foreign Affairs Minister Beniamino Andreatta stressing that he had received with great concern and regret the news about the killing of the three Italian journalists in Mostar, and due to this tragical event he wished to express condolences to the Italian public and families of the killed journalists, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced.

Their death is yet another confirmation of horrors caused by the aggression and war which is continuing in former Yugoslavia. Around 50 journalists have been killed so far, and as of late aid workers have become target of attacks which proves that we all have to double our efforts for the hostilities to cease and a peace solution to be found, Minister Granic's letter says.

Once again I would like to condemn the crime most vehemently and assure you that the Croatian government will not begrudge effort to provide help in an independent investigation to clarify the circumstances surrounding this tragic incident, the statement says underscoring that as soon the Croatian government received the news about the killing of the three Italian citizens, it exerted all its influence over the warring factions in Mostar to help in the establishment of a cease-fire and the evacuation of the killed journalists.

In conclusion of this letter Minister Granic said he was hoping that in the course of his forthcoming meeting in Rome he would be able to have talks with his Italian counterpart on the possibilities for halting the war in this area.

Granic Signs Memorandum on Serbian Sanctions

LD2801211494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] On behalf of the Croatian Government, Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, has signed a memorandum of understanding between the Republic of Croatia, the European Union [EU] and the CSCE. The memorandum is linked with the EU and CSCE missions in Croatia, whose task is to support the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

On behalf of the EU the memorandum was signed by Danish Ambassador to Croatia Eric Skov, and on behalf of the CSCE—currently chaired by Italy—by Italian Ambassador to Croatia Salvatore Cilento.

The memorandum regulates the ways of working and the methods of activity of the two international missions—the EU and the CSCE—active in Croatia since January 1993. The missions' task is to ensure that the sanctions are fully implemented. The Croatian authorities, especially the customs and financial bodies, are called on to

help supervize the implementation of measures envisaged by the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. The memorandum also regulates the status of the missions' members, in keeping with the Vienna Convention.

A memorandum with the same content was also signed by all other countries bordering Serbia and Montenegro.

Krajina President Pledges To Introduce Dinar

LD2801144494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Knin, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—The program I had offered in the election campaign became the reflection of people's will after the elections and it can and must be implemented, the newly elected president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Milan Martic said at today's press conference. All creative forces and teams of experts will gather to implement the program. There is no place for political splits and all parties must subordinate their activities to national and state interests. As far as economic measures are concerned, the president of the RSK announced the introduction of the "super" dinar. According to Martic, a unified monetary policy of Yugoslavia, the republic of Srpska and the RSK is the first step toward the creation of a joint state.

Martic announced that he would meet the president of the republic of Srpska, Radovan Karadzic, after he had talks with Serbian President Milosevic.

As far as the make-up of the new Krajina government is concerned and taking into account the multiparty structure of the Krajina parliament, due to meet in about ten days, Martic announced consultations and talks with the heads of parliamentary groups and party leaders and went on to express his belief that an agreement would be reached.

In any case, the government will be competent, the RSK president stressed. He did not even hint who the new prime minister could be or which party he belonged to. When the largest parliamentary group, the Serb Democratic Party of Krajina, was mentioned in this context, Martic said that it did not have an absolute majority (32 out of 84 deputies) in the RSK parliament.

Explaining the defense program, Martic said that an efficient and more economic army should be created, an army which would be prepared to defend and preserve the borders. As the supreme commander of the Serb army of Krajina, Martic announced his first steps after the parliament's session, pointing out that all incompetent people would have to go. This will also be true regarding all other state bodies and the police.

Replying to one of the questions, Martic pledged that all state bodies would have their headquarters in Knin, including the ministry of foreign affairs, if this would prove to be efficient and appropriate. Outlining his plan for a more aggressive foreign policy, the RSK president pointed out that Krajina must achieve full status at all negotiations in the peace process. According to Martic, the RSK must achieve the status currently enjoyed by the republic of Srpska.

Commenting on the declaration on the normalization of relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia, Martic said: "The declaration does not change anything in Krajina's status and it does not mention that Krajina is back in Croatia as Croatian politicians are claiming. In reality this is a document which seeks political solutions in a peaceful manner." This is also our aspiration and we want to hold talks with Croatia on an equal footing, to reach a peaceful agreement on life as neighbors and not under the same roof. As far as final demarcation with Croatia is concerned, Martic said that an internationally controlled referendum could be held so that the Serbian people would get their right to self-determination as all other peoples in the world.

Zhirinovskiy on Private Visit to Ljubljana

Holds News Conference

AU2801202694 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Vladimir Wolfovich Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, who is staying on a private visit in Slovenia, held a news conference in Bled this afternoon. Tomaz Gerden reports:

[Begin Gerden recording] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, of course, attracts great attention wherever he goes. This was also the case in Bled were approximately 100 foreign and domestic journalists and cameramen have gathered. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who was invited here by the National-Social Alliance, in the introduction praised Slovenia, which he is visiting for the second time. He was here for the first time in November 1990 at the congress of the Liberal Party.

I view the Slovene nation, which has chosen its own fate, with respect. Zhirinovskiy also said that he knew that our country was highly developed and cultured and handled its affairs into which he would not meddle by itself. An avalanche of reporters' questions ensued:

Zhirinovskiy answered fiercely. Occasionally he had problems with the translation. He gave preference to Slavic journalists over western journalists, who are obviously getting on his nerves. For example, he accused them of creating a false impression that he favored war. The leader of the Russian Liberal Democrats assured them that he has always favored peace and was opposed to the use of force.

All foreign troops, including the blue berets, should withdraw from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Only then will there be peace. He also spoke in favor of not changing borders and of freezing the situation in Europe as it was in 1945 after World War II.

Asked what are his alleged connections with the former KGB, he categorically assured: I have no connections with the former or the present KGB. I would gladly have had connections with the KGB as this was the most powerful political police in the world. Had I been connected with the KGB, I would be sitting in the Moscow Kremlin now and not in this small town on the shore of a lake.

Mr. Zhirinovskiy then distributed his book among the journalists, again threatened Western, corrupt journalists, and said that he would meet any Slovene politician who might wish to do so. For example, he had received Mr. Jelincic yesterday.

Finally, it is worthwhile noting that the news conference, despite sporadic outbursts, was carried out in perfect order. Mr. Zhirinovskiy, who will soon leave for Serbia, repeated on several occasions that he favored peace and only peace and that his former militant statements were misrepresented. [end recording]

Threatens Russian UN Withdrawal

LD2801222294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2134 GMT 28 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Ljubljana, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—Russia's Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said on Friday that if the United Nations decided to mount air attacks on Bosnian Serbs he would move in parliament for Russia's withdrawal from the U.N. which, he said, would be the end of the world organization. Speaking at a press conference in Ljubljana where he arrived on Thursday [27 January] on a short private visit, Zhirinovskiy resolutely opposed any military action in former Yugoslavia. Any further foreign involvement in the Yugoslav crisis, especially in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, would inevitably trigger world war three, he argued.

The first precondition for resolving the crisis in the Balkans is to withdraw foreign troops from the territory of former Yugoslavia. Otherwise, the conflict would continue for another 20 or 30 years, said Zhirinovskiy.

At the press conference attended by over 100 reporters from Europe, Japan and the United States, Zhirinovskiy said he would present his plan for resolving the Bosnia crisis during his visit to Belgrade on Sunday. TANJUG learns unofficially that Zhirinovskiy will be visiting Belgrade at the invitation of the Russian-Serbian Friendship Society.

In Slovenia, Zhirinovskiy was highly criticial of the disintegration of the Slavic states into a host of city-statelettes. If this trend continues, the entire world will break up because the retailoring of borders in one case will encourage the same practice in another. Slovenia violently seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation in 1991.

Asked whether he had his own ideas for the formation of a new Yugoslav community, Zhirinovskiy said a confederation of Slovenes, Serbs and Croats could not be ruled out.

Asked To Leave Country

AU2801194894 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has, in the meantime, reported that a group of men, supporters of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, last night gravely violated public order in Bled. The Foreign Ministry informed Yuri Stepanovich Girenko, charge d'affaires of the Russian Embassy in Ljubljana, about the event that had disturbed some of the Slovene public and advised that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his men leave the territory of the Republic of Slovenia as soon as possible.

Refuses To Leave

AU2801212494 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Excerpts] The Foreign Ministry has informed the Russian Embassy in Ljubljana that the escorts of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Russian Deputy and leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, grossly violated public order in Bled last night. [passage omitted].

Zhirinovskiy has, in the meantime, already rebuffed the accusations of the Slovene authorities and said that he would not leave our country early.

The Russian Foreign Ministry in Ljubljana [title as heard] has stated that it would not get involved in the matter and our authorities should, thus, treat the offenders against public order in accordance with internal Slovene legislation and international norms. They have also expressed belief in the correctness of the incumbent Slovene organs regarding the punishment of the Russian citizens.

Leaves Slovenia for Belgrade

LD3001125394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Text] Ljubljana, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, president of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, left Slovenia for Budapest this morning. He will continue his journey to Belgrade this afternoon.

"I would like to show the Serbs that there exists another Russia, a new leading political party, a new Russian parliament", said Zhirinovskiy in his statement for TANJUG.

He hinted at "Russia taking a new stand in order that the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina may end as soon as possible", and so that "no Serb and no Slav would ever have to die in the Balkans. The Balkans will flourish"—was the message of the leader of the Russian Liberal Democrats.

In the course of his official and unofficial meetings in Serbia and the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], Zhirinovskiy is expected to put forward his proposals for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, and especially for an end to the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fully supporting the Serbian and Montenegrin people, whom he considers as brotherly, he will strongly oppose the air strikes on Bosnian Serbs persistently threatened by the United Nations and NATO.

"My party and the official Russian policy will keep demanding that the international community abolish the sanctions against the FRY and allow its return back among the recognized European countries", said Zhirinovskiy.

Federal

Zhirinovskiy Supports Serbs, Criticizes Clinton

LD3001233894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2248 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, warned Western politicians this evening that "bombing Serbian positions in Bosnia would be a declaration of war against Russia." At a packed news press conference in Belgrade's Yugoslavia hotel, Zhirinovskiy recalled that "the Russian Army is still in Europe" but added that his party is urging peace and an end to the war in Bosnia and that "it is not threatening anybody".

Speaking in detail about ways to solve the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said that there were three ways: Either the foreign troops leave the territory of former Yugoslavia and let the Slav nations solve their problems on their own; or "accepting the status quo"; or "the arrival of Russian troops."

"We are supporting the Serbs and our standpoint is that the Serb lands—the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serb Krajina should be within the Republic of Serbia," he said, adding that he would be happy if "Russia and Serbia had a common border." Zhirinovskiy stressed that he had come as chairman of the party which had won the Russian parliamentary elections by a wide margin, and went on to call on the Western governments "to understand the language of the new Russian authorities." He also said that he has never "liked the policy pursued by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, particularly in the Balkans" and that he will demand his resignation "if he does not support Serb policy."

According to him, Russia has never threatened anybody with anything and has not done anything by force, "but it will come, if someone calls for it." Asked whether he would have a meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Zhirinovskiy said that he is ready for talks, "if someone in the Serbian leadership requests this", but that for him "the most important thing is the Serbian people". He stressed that he would "when he is elected as president, propose an alliance of Slav states, whose centeer will not be Moscow, because everyone has grown tired of this."

Expressing his personal view that the former member countries of the Warsaw Pact "should remain neutral," Zhirinovskiy stressed that "Russia will not enter NATO." The president of the Russian Liberals stressed that he is "against all blocs" and against "any center that dictates conditions by force."

Speaking about the situation in Russia, he said that "that there should not be any upsetting of the internal political situation in Russia," that parliament "will do its work over the coming three years," and that "the people elected his party for the sake of stability."

Commenting on relations between the United States and Russia, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia assessed that U.S. President Bill Clinton "has shown himself to be a weakling" by not having a meeting with him in Moscow. "This is a gift, because anti-American feeling is growing in Russia, because the people know that Clinton supports the disintegration of Russia," Zhirinovskiy added.

Commenting on his recent stay in Slovenia, he noted briefly that the visit passed off "without incident" and "without contacts with the authorities." Zhirinovskiy stressed at the end of the news conference, which lasted almost 90 minutes, during which he was frequently interrupted by applause and ovations, that "the time for the withdrawal of Russia has passed and that a general emergence is beginning."

Threatens To Punish 'Enemies'

AU3001201794 Podgorica TVCG Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Report by Milenko Ilic]

[Text] [Studio announcer] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, president of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, today arrived in Subotica from Slovenia. He should be arriving in Belgrade this evening.

[Ilic] Currently the most controversial person on the international political scene, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, arrived this afternoon in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Serbian Democratic Party of all Serbian Lands and the Serbian-Russian Friendship Society. He was welcomed at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border crossing by Radomir Smiljanic. Expressing thanks for the welcome, Zhirinovskiy said that he was happy that he had stepped onto Serbian soil, onto the beginning of the Slav world, and that he was among the people who are today fervently fighting for all the Slavs.

After a brief traditional Orthodox ceremony, Zhirinovskiy went to Subotica, where he was greeted by many citizens. Addressing them, he said: I am coming to your country for the first time, but I am coming here as a representative of the victorious party at the Russian elections, as a representative of Russia, which has chosen a new course. This course is the obligation of Russia to help the brotherly Serbian people. Our enemies are our common enemies and you ought to know that they will be punished for all the evils committed against the Slav people.

A new era is beginning, Zhirinovskiy said. His words were accompanied with chanting: Russia, Serbia. He stressed that the enemies of the Slav people are now trembling in Paris, Bonn, London, and Washington.

Commenting on the war the Serbian people are waging on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Zhirinovskiy said that all the barbarians that have settled on the

sacred Serbian soil must accept the fact that this land belongs to the Serbian people, or leave it.

After a brief stop in a big restaurant in Subotica, Agros Centar, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy continued his journey to Belgrade, where he will hold a news conference. According to the plan, Zhirinovskiy will visit Bijeljina as a guest of the republic of Srpska, and then meet Milan Martic, newly elected president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, in Vukovar.

Gen. Perisic Denies Army Fighting in Bosnia

LD3001165094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1528 GMT 30 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 30 (TANJUG)—Army of Yugoslavia (VJ) chief of general staff, General Momcilo Perisic on Sunday denied the allegations that VJ units were fighting on the side of the Bosnian Serbs in the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I claim that not a single unit of the army of Yugoslavia has crossed into or is fighting in either the Serb republic (RS) (the state of the Bosnian Serbs) or in the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) (The serb state within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia)," [quotation marks as received] General Perisic said on Radio Kragujevac. He said there was no organized departure of the Army of Yugoslavia for the RS, and there would be none in the foreseeable future. The U.N. and the U.S. Administration, themselves, have said that there is no evidence that VJ units are engaged in the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Asked to comment the NATO threats that it will launch air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions, General Perisic said he did not think the air strikes would take place since he said what was involved were threats and pressure from the architects of the so-called new world order.

The VJ chief of general staff said the use of any significant forces in the air in Bosnia-Herzegovina would produce small results militarily and would not secure the desired goal. If such strikes are launched, however, I think that Serbs in the RS, especially their military leaders, are wise enough to avoid the strikes, that is, place themselves in a position in which they would maximally be protected, General Perisic said.

Asked about the possibility of the war spilling over into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Perisic said the forces which had undertaken to destroy the states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia wanted to apply the same scenario to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia using, among other things, on the basis of the same principle applied so far, internal factors which have directly placed themselves in the service of those forces and were working for their interests.

It is for that reason that the situation in the F.R.Y. is very complex, and it is only thanks to the extremely wisely conducted policy that the scenario has not been applied on its territory. We must constantly be aware of that, of the fact that the enemy's ultimate goal is to place the Serb and Montengrin peoples in the position of the Palestinian people, that is, of a people without its own state. It is quite clear to everyone what has been and what is the faith of peoples with no state, General Perisic set out.

Asked whether it was possible for the war to escalate and spread to other parts of the Balkans, General Perisic said the architects of the "new world order" had caused the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and for the time being, since the war had acquired such proportions and gotten out of their control, they feared the most that it could acquire proportions which would threaten Europe and the world.

Faced with the unexpected resistance by the Serb people on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the architects of the "new world order" are now afraid of a war on a larger scale, all the more so since they can no longer control it, just as they cannot Croatia's intervention on Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, or the activities of Muslim forces, General Perisic said.

Roughly 60,000 of Croatia's regular army troops have been engaged in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina since it broke out in April 1992. The three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina are the local Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

Belgrade Implicated in Draft of Bosnian Serbs

LD3001115794 Paris Radio France International in French 1100 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Text] While the United Nations and the West are debating air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs, those very Serbs seem to be preparing a large-scale offensive in the coming weeks. Information gathered from several sources in Belgrade seems to indicate this. In particular, we have been receiving reports of the mobilization of Serbian refugees in the rump Yugoslavia, who are being called up by the Serbian armies in Bosnia and Krajina. Belgrade authorities are denying all involvement in this mobilization, but the High Commission for Refugees in Belgrade believes that the operation would be impossible without the collaboration of the local authorities. Florence Hartmann [LE MONDE correspondent in Belgrade] reports:

[Begin Hartmann recording] A form with the heading—Your Country Calls On You—is being sent out to Bosnian [Serb] refugees in Serbia and Montenegro calling them back to serve on the front. Suffering from a shortage of manpower, the Bosnian Serbs are recruiting with the help of threats and with Belgrade's backing. Those who do not answer the call-up will lose their refugee status and could even face a prison sentence.

Defying international conventions, the civilian and military authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are providing lists of refugees, distributing call-up papers and transferring the troops to the combat zones. The Belgrade authorities are nevertheless officially denying their collaboration in this activity. For now, we are unable to estimate the scope of this mobilization, but several hundred called-up refugees have alerted the UNHCR to the situation. The UN is advising them to stay in hiding. Several refugee shelters in Serbia and Montenegro have been deserted in recent days by all men of fighting age; or rather by all men of any age, since the call-up also includes refugees of 60 as well as men exempted from military duties for medical reasons.

Having failed to obtain a [Muslim] signature on the Bosnia peace plan, the Serbs seem decided to inflict total defeat on the Muslim side.

Florence Hartmann, Belgrade, RFI. [end recording]

Hungary's Jeszenszky Meets With Officials

Sanctions Discussed With Kontic

LD2801152994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—It is with pleasure that Hungary will uphold the lifting of the sanctions adversely affecting not only the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia but Hungary as well, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic today. Federal Prime Minister Kontic received the Hungarian foreign minister at the Palace of the Federation today. The meeting was also attended by Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic.

Views were exchanged on bilateral relations between the FRY and Hungary, stability in the Balkans, and the consequences of the unjustly imposed sanctions. The two sides expressed mutual interest in the development of good-neighborly relations and the desire to resolve all disputes through dialogue.

"Yugoslavia is firmly determined to settle all disputed issues in a peaceful way", the Yugoslav prime minister pointed out. The prime minister also stressed that relations with neighbors were a priority in Yugoslavia's foreign policy, emphasizing that national minorities should be bridges of cooperation, not causes for confrontation. Consequently, all national minorities in the FRY—including members of the Hungarian minority—are enjoying and will continue to enjoy all rights in conformity with the highest international standards, Kontic stressed. He informed Minister Jeszenszky about the effects of the unjustly imposed sanctions and said there were no longer any reasons for maintaining them.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Jeszenszky conveyed his government's interest in maintaining good-neighborly relations with the FRY and expressed his conviction that they will be even more beneficial in the future. Jeszenszky believes that peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina was now closer at hand than ever before and assessed that the FRY was making a significant contribution to this effect.

The two sides also discussed economic cooperation, especially after the sanctions.

Prime Minister Kontic extended an invitation to the Hungarian prime minister to visit Yugoslavia.

Lilic Receives Jeszenszky

LD2801214294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—"We attach exceptional importance to your visit and see it as a sign of growing mutual respect and understanding between our two countries", said FRY President Zoran Lilic during his meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky. According to the FRY president's general secretariat [as received], President Lilic added that it is the FRY's desire that this visit should to be an important step in the promotion of bilateral relations, especially in the sphere of economic cooperation which is of great importance for both countries, stressing that mutual trust and cooperation is what a true relationship between neighbors should be.

"Within the framework of this cooperation," President Lilic said, "the Serbian minority in Hungary and the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia should represent an important cohesive factor. As for the FRY, Hungarians living there enjoy all the rights of national minorities in accordance with the highest international standards, as well as full equality as citizens. I hope that the same criterion applies to the Serbian minority in Hungary," President Lilic said.

Speaking about the aim of his visit, Minister Jeszenszky underscored that Hungary is aware of the importance and complexity of the present situation in the FRY and that it wishes peace to be established in war-affected areas of former Yugoslavia as soon as possible and that our two countries should consolidate their mutual relations. This visit reassured me that the FRY firmly intends to help resolve the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a peaceful way, Jeszenszky said, adding that he realizes Yugoslavia is doing everything in its power to fully achieve this aim.

Minister Jeszenszky spoke in particular about prospects of the unification of Europe saying that the FRY should be included in this framework. "As we already know," the Hungarian foreign minister said, "Hungarians live in several countries and Hungary will try to resolve the issue of the cultural and national identity of its minority, not by changing the borders but through European processes of unification."

"We are also in favor of a united Europe," President Lilic stressed, "but for a Europe where all peoples and

countries are equal. The behavior of certain members of the European and international communities—especially the introduction of the unprecedented and inhuman sanctions against our country—shows that such an ideal has not yet been attained. The efforts made by the FRY are being ignored—although certain changes have been detected recently and the truth is slowly becoming apparent—despite the fact that, since the very outbreak of the crisis in former Yugoslavia and especially the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yugoslavia always advocated a peaceful solution to all disputes and a negotiated settlement. Our consistent adherence to a policy of peace, as well as our constructive stand and significant contribution to the acceptance of all the conditions set by the European Union at the latest round of the Geneva talks, did not result in the lifting of sanctions. It became obvious after the latest round of negotiations just how absurd it is to punish Yugoslavia because one side in Bosnia-Herzegovina opted for war, unfortunately with support from certain world circles. Evidently, President Lilic concluded, somebody in the world cares more about the sanctions against the FRY than about peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Underlining that the sanctions against the FRY are inflicting severe damage to Yugoslavia and its neighbors, President Lilic said he hopes Hungary will significantly alter its stands on the sanctions and urge the international community more resolutely to lift them.

We all have to make an appraisal of the consequences of this unhappy period for our entire region, Geza Jeszenszky said, which should be forgotten—like a bad dream. The Hungarian Government and people wish to see mutual relations and economic cooperation develop. In this respect, Minister Jeszenszky added, Hungary will work within the framework of the international community to improve conditions for the realization of all that is in our mutual interest.

The meeting was also attended by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic.

Jeszenszky Ends Talks

LD2801161994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—"I think that now is the right time in history not only to resolve the crisis (in the former Yugoslavia) but also to improve Yugoslav-Hungarian relations," Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said today, at the end of his two-day visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

At a joint news conference with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic at the Palace of the Federation Jeszenszky pointed to the consequences of the unjust international sanctions both for Yugoslavia and for Hungary and said that the purpose of his visit was to "see what could be done when the sanctions are lifted," so that the two countries "can fully promote bilateral economic, cultural, and political relations."

Jeszenszky noted with satisfaction that the bilateral relations and relations between citizens had not deteriorated. He added that in the talks today with President Lilic and Prime Minister Kontic, as well as during the talks last night with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, which the president of the DZVM [Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians], Andras Agoston, also attended. He was informed that members of the Hungarian national minority in Serbia enjoyed all rights guaranteed by the Serbian constitution, in keeping with the highest standards envisaged by CSCE documents.

Recalling that he had talked at length today with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic about the efforts the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was making toward a peaceful resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, about the opening of new border crossings, the importance of free traffic on the river Danube, cooperation in curbing international crime, and relations between the CSCE and Yugoslavia, Jeszenszky said that the two foreign ministers would meet again soon.

He added that he was leaving Yugoslavia convinced it was everyone's wish "that the difficult period (of sanctions) should end, the situation should return to normal and that, as regards Europe and European relations, our ties should assume a new quality."

Simic: Missing Yugoslavs Must Be Tracked Down

LD2901011794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0020 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice-Premier Zeljko Simic said on Friday [29 January] all Yugoslav citizens who had been in Croatian territory at the time of the outbreak of Croatia's war of secession in 1991, and who had since disappeared must be tracked down. Croatian authorities are willing to release those from the list of 980 missing persons who should be found to be in prisons or camps, said Simic on his return from Geneva, where he had met on Thursday with Croatian Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Mate Granic.

Yugoslav officials will be permitted to go to Croatia and investigate the circumstances in connection with the disappearances. Simic and Granic agreed on the setting up of a joint commission for the affairs of refugees, missing persons and humanitarian assistance. The talks with Granic took stock also of other sensitive issues between the two countries, such as the restoration of PTT, road and railway communications, said Simic.

He explained that the problems discussed at Geneva could not be solved without the participation of the 'third party.' He was referring to Krajina Serbs, whose views he said were indispensable and whose legitimate interests had to be taken into account in dealing with the problems.

Roads and railways linking Yugoslavia and Croatia pass in part through the republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.),

which has been proclaimed by the local Serbs in those parts within the arbitrary communist-era borders of Croatia where they are the majority population, in response to Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav federation and trampling on their rights.

Simic said he was travelling to Zagreb on February 12 as part of regular monthly exchanges of visits by Belgrade and Zagreb ranking officials.

Serbia

Socialists Reject Compromise With Opposition

LD2901204194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1756 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Jagodina, 29 Jan—Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement told Radio Jagodina today that during three-hour long talks last night between representatives of the parliamentary opposition parties and the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] offered to support the formation of a minority Socialist government in exchange for the position of the [Serbian] Assembly speaker.

However, according to Draskovic, no agreement was reached because the Socialists "rejected a compromise". Depos, as the leading parliamentary opposition party offered the SPS a compromise to the effect that a deputy of the democratic opposition of Serbia be appointed Assembly speaker, and in return it would give up not only the post of prime minister, but also all government ministries. As a sign of good will we offered to have two deputy speakers in the Assembly presidency. To reject the readiness of the largest opposition party to support the formation of a minority Socialist government in the name of national unity, while in exchange it would obtain only the post of the first among the equal in the Serbian Assembly, is the proof of the Socialists' utmost intolerance," Draskovic said.

Democratic Party Favors Opposition Chairman

AU3001172094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Report by Srdjan Savic]

[Excerpt] The process of internal party discussions on policy concepts and personal issues ended at the extraordinary convention of the Democratic Party without the party experiencing a rift. This was stated by Zoran Djindjic, who replaced Dragoljub Micunovic as president of the Democratic Party last night, at his first news conference in this capacity. Srdjan Savic reports:

[Savic] Yesterday's discussion on various policy concepts was not a discussion on the party's program orientations, which means that the Democratic Party will continue the policy that existed before the election. This was stated by the new leader of the Democratic Party, Zoran Djindjic. He stressed that the former party president Dragoljub Micunovic would remain the head of the deputies' caucus in the federal parliament and that his full participation in the work of the party would be appreciated.

Speaking about the continuation of the talks on the inauguration of the republican assembly scheduled for tomorrow [31 January], Djindjic stressed that the opposition expects a gesture of goodwill from the ruling party. This means that the opposition expects the ruling party to allow Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] to appoint the chairman of the assembly. However, the Democratic Party will try its utmost to unblock the work of the Serbian Assembly even at the price of a non-opposition assembly chairman, because it wants to enable the parliament to perform its main, legislative function, Zoran Djindjic said. [passage omitted]

Djindjic Elected President

LD3001095594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0010 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—Zoran Djindjic, hitherto chairman of the Democratic Party's [DS] executive committee is the party's new president beginning this evening. The extraordinary assembly of the DS, which has been in session since this morning [29 January], elected Djindjic as the party's new president this evening. The session was attended by 357 delegates and 286 voted in favor of Djindjic. [passage omitted]

Democratic Party President Micunovic Resigns

AU2901200594 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Excerpt] The denouement of the dispute between Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party, and Zoran Djindjic, president of the party's Executive Committee, over the concept of how the Democratic Party should be led, is known. As we have learned, Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party, has tendered his resignation as president, which was greeted by a tumultuous applause. [passage omitted]

Seselj Opens Radical Party's Third Congress

AU3001163594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 94

[Report by Dragoljub Stankic]

[Text] The Third Fatherland Congress of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] is currently being held in the Trade Unions Hall in Belgrade. The agenda includes the adoption of a new statute and the party's program, the report on the work of the party in the past period, and the election of the president and the Central Fatherland Administration. Party president Vojislav Seselj submitted a report on the work of the party. Dragoljub Stankic reports:

[Stankic] The 672 delegates and 358 guests of the SRS from the Republic of Serbia, the Republic of Montenegro, the republic of Srpska, and the republic of Serbian Krajina tumultuously greeted the arrival of Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radicals. He submitted a report on the work of the party at the very beginning of the congress.

Seselj spoke about the period starting with 1989, the revival of the Serbian national conscience, and the founding of the party in 1990, which was at that time called, as Seselj said, the Serbian Liberation Movement. The party then changed its name into the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Serbian Chetnik Movement, and finally the Serbian Radical Party in 1991.

The civil war broke out. Many volunteers from the party went to defend the Serbian lands. About 70 percent of the Serbian ethnic regions have been defended in the republic of Serbian Krajina, and almost all Serbian villages in the republic of Srpska, Seselj stressed. Today, it is only possible to establish peace where the lines of the front are, Seselj said. His message to Radovan Karadzic was to declare the independence of the republic of Srpska and join the Republic of Serbia in a single state. This was greeted with applause.

In the 1992 elections, the party was successful, but decided to support the minority government of the Socialists. A year later, the party embarked on overthrowing the government. As Seselj said, the party decided to do this not because of the wish for power, but because of the poor results, mistakes in the economy, and the flourishing crime.

Seselj said he was satisfied with the election results in the republic of Serbian Krajina. He announced that the Radicals would form a coalition government with the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina.

At the end of his speech Seselj said that his message to the Socialists of Serbia and Montenegro was that he will not allow the return of ideological premises, which he thought were superseded. His message for the Serbian Democratic Party in the republic of Srpska was that he will not abandon the joint front for the defense of the Serbian land.

His speech was followed by a discussion on the report. Nikola Poplasen, Rade Leskovac, Jovan Glamocanin, and many others have already spoken. The delegates are currently in a recess. When they return, they will, as expected, elect the president of the party by a secret ballot. There are seven candidates. The 50 members of the Central Fatherland Administration, a new political organ of the Serbian Radicals of all Serbian lands, will be elected by show of hand.

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